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THE
H I S T O R Y,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF THE
BRITISH WEST INDIES.

BY
BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ. F.R.S.S.A.

WITH
A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

FIFTH EDITION.
WITH MAPS AND PLATES.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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PREFATORY ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE CONTINUATION OF

THE HISTORY OF THE WEST INDIES.

To make additions to a building which has been erected by another architect, however able may be the person by whom those additions are made, is a task from the performance of which but little reputation is likely to be acquired. There is, almost always, in the different parts, a want of harmony and connection, which is highly prejudicial to the general effect. It is the same with respect to works of literature. The original author takes a full view of his subject, in all its bearings and relations, forms a regular plan, and assigns to each branch its proper order and space. Every thing that is subsequently added, by another writer, disturbs the symmetry of the composition, and appears, therefore, at best, rather as an inartificial appendage than as a portion of one great whole. Should this fault be discovered in the continuation of the History of the West Indies, it is hoped that the candour of the reader will attribute it to its real

and almost unavoidable cause, and not to a want of care in the author.

The history of the war is continued down to the termination of the contest, and the author trusts that it will be found to have at least the merit of clearness and fidelity. A description is given of the colonies ceded to Great Britain since the period when Mr. EDWARDS wrote, and also of those of which no satisfactory account is contained in his volumes. The long-debated question of the abolition of the slave trade is so closely connected with the interests of the British West-Indian possessions, that an apology will scarcely be thought to be wanting for the length of the narrative, relative to it, in the fourth volume. On the concluding chapters of the history, it is not necessary for the author to make any observation.

The Appendix contains such official and other documents as are likely to be referred to by readers and speakers upon West-Indian affairs. Mr. EDWARDS's account of the Mosquito shore, his poem of Jamaica, and a few shorter pieces in verse, are also inserted. In every work, but especially in a voluminous one, the convenience of the reader ought to be attended to, by enabling him to find, with as little trouble as possible, any particular passage which he may be desirous of consulting. To this edition of the History of the West Indies a copious Index is, therefore, added.

TO THE
KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,
THIS
POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL
SURVEY
OF HIS MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS IN THE
WEST INDIES;
WHICH
UNDER HIS MILD AND AUSPICIOUS GOVERNMENT
ARE BECOME THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF THE NATIONAL
OPULENCE AND MARITIME POWER;
IS
WITH HIS GRACIOUS PERMISSION,
MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED
BY HIS MAJESTY'S
MOST LOYAL AND DUTIFUL SUBJECT,
AND SERVANT,

BRYAN EDWARDS.

London, 3d June, 1798.

VOL. I.

a

PREFATORY

ADVERTISEMENT.*



To this enlarged and corrected Edition of the History of the West Indies, it was the intention of the Author to prefix a Preface, touching every source of additional intelligence, every rectification of error, and the general completion of his views, in furnishing every document of commerce, of policy, and of natural history, as connected with the countries and the people he describes. He had carefully revised and corrected the text of his Book, preparatory to such essay, developing the scheme of its construction, and the philosophy of its contents. But death interrupted the design:—and ere the last sheet was revised from the press—BRYAN EDWARDS was no more! He had long suffered from the disorder which brought him to the

* By Sir William Young, Bart.

iv PREFATORY ADVERTISEMENT.

grave, and seemed to foresee the hour of dissolution hastening on ; as the sketch of his Life, written by himself, clearly denotes. Rendered incapable, by weakness and disease, of completing his greater design of a Prefatory Discourse ; yet, with a fond anxiety for honest fame, he roused the embers of his genius,---to claim a fair reputation with posterity for industry, integrity, and candid exposition of the talents and acquirements which introduced him to public notice. The firmness of his mind, and the cheerfulness of his temper, which throughout a long and chequered life, gave confidence to his friendships, and delight in his society, forsook him not, as he apprehended its last short hour before him : this he clearly shews, when, turning from the awful consideration of futurity, to look back on his past life, himself brings the retrospect to our view, and describes the scene in so pure and lively colours, with no gloom from discontent, and no shade from remorse, that we readily infer the nature of the light which so beamed on this his last work, and to his last hour ;---and pronounce its emanation to be from the pure conscience of a

benevolent and upright man. Under such impressions, the Editor has peculiar satisfaction in fulfilling the injunction of his departed friend, and prefixing to this Edition "THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF."---The time at which it was composed, and the composition itself, impress the Editor with every feeling of dear regard and of duty ; and, (as a part of that duty) with the propriety of submitting some further remark on this last literary effort of his excellent Friend. Those who knew and were intimate with Mr. BRYAN EDWARDS, will recognize, in this short account of himself, the energy of mind, the industry, and the truth, which characterized his conversations and his life ; but all must allow, and some must object, that much therein is omitted, which has usual and proper place in biography, and which the Editor might be presumed, or be called upon, to supply. Some account might be required of his literary essays and legislative acts, so efficient in the cause of humanity towards the negroes, whilst a member of the assembly in Jamaica :---some account might be demanded, of this good

and independent man, whilst a member of the British parliament ; and especially in the posthumous life of a literary man, some accurate detail of his literary pursuits and writings might be expected.---Of BRYAN EDWARDS,---of his Correspondence,---of his Essays, and of his conduct in the judicious compilation and elegant recital of the Travels of Mungo Park,---and specially, of the origin and progress of the great Work herewith submitted to the Public---to these, and other points, the recollection of the reader is thus awakened. The Editor presumes no further. He cannot venture to alter, or add to, the sacred deposit committed to his charge,---and now gives it to the Public, as its Author left, and *willed* it to be given.

SKETCH

OF

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

Written by Himself a short Time before his Death.



I WAS born the 21st of May, 1743, in the decayed town of Westbury, in the county of Wilts. My father inherited a small paternal estate in the neighbourhood, of about 100l. per annum; which proving but a scanty maintenance for a large family, he undertook, without any knowledge of the business, as I have been informed, to deal in corn and malt, but with very little success. He died in 1756, leaving my excellent mother, and six children, in distressed circumstances.—Luckily for my mother, she had two opulent brothers in the West

Indies, one of them a wise and worthy man, of a liberal mind, and princely fortune. This was Zankary Bayly, of the Island of Jamaica, who, on the death of my father, took my mother and her family under his protection, and as I was the eldest son, directed that I should be well educated. I had been placed by my father at the school of a dissenting minister in Bristol, whose name was William Foot, of whom I remember enough, to believe that he was both a learned and good man, but by a strange absurdity, he was forbidden to teach me Latin and Greek, and directed to confine my studies to writing, arithmetic, and the English grammar. I should therefore have had little to do, but that the schoolmaster had an excellent method of making the boys write letters to him on different subjects, such as, the beauty and dignity of truth, the obligation of a religious life, the benefits of good education, the mischief of idleness, &c. &c. previously stating to them the chief arguments to be urged ; and insisting on correctness in orthography and grammar.

In this employment, I had sometimes the good fortune to excel the other boys; and when this happened, my master never failed to praise me very liberally before them all; and he would frequently transmit my letters to my father and mother.---This excited in my mind a spirit of emulation, and, I believe, gave me the first taste for correct and elegant composition. I acquired, however, all this time, but very little learning; and when my uncle (on my father's death) took me under his protection, his agent in Bristol considered me as neglected by Mr. Foot, and immediately removed me to a French boarding-school in the same city, where I soon obtained the French language, and having access to a circulating library, I acquired a passion for books, which has since become the solace of my life.

In 1759, a younger and the only brother of my great and good uncle, came to England, and settling in London, took me to reside with him, in a high and elegant style of life. He was a representative in Parliament for Abingdon, and afterwards for his native town.----Further I cannot

speak of him so favourably as I could wish; for I remember that at the period I allude to, his conduct towards me was such as not to inspire me with much respect: he perceived it; and soon after, in the latter end of the same year, sent me to Jamaica. This proved a happy and fortunate change in my life, for I found my eldest uncle the reverse, in every possible circumstance, of his brother. To the most enlarged and enlightened mind, he added the sweetest temper, and the most generous disposition... His tenderness towards me was excessive, and I regarded him with more than filial affection and veneration. Observing my passion for books, and thinking favourably of my capacity, he engaged a clergyman (my loved and ever to be lamented friend Isaac Teale) to reside in his family, chiefly to supply by his instructions my deficiency in the learned languages. Mr. Teale had been master of a free grammar-school, and besides being a most accomplished scholar, possessed an exquisite taste for poetry, of which the reader will be convinced by referring to the Gentleman's Magazine for August,

1771, the beautiful copy of verses, there first published, called "The Compliment of the Day," being of his composition. I dare not say, however, that I made any great progress in the languages under his tuition; I acquired "*small Latin, and less Greek*;" even now, I find it difficult to read the Roman poets in their own language. The case was, that not having been grounded in the Latin grammar at an earlier period of life, I found the study of it insupportably disgusting, after that I had acquired a taste for the beauties of fine writing. Poetry was our chief amusement; for my friend, as well as myself, preferred the charms of Dryden and Pope, to the dull drudgery of poring over syntax and prosody.* We preferred Belles Lettres.—We laughed away a happy hour over the plays of Molière, and wrote verses on local and temporary subjects, which we sometimes published in the Colonial newspapers. Yet the Latin classics were not altogether neglected; my friend delighted to point out to me the beauties of

* Vide Armstrong.

Horace, and would frequently impose, on me the task of translating an ode into English verse, which with his assistance, in construing the words, I sometimes accomplished.

Having made myself known to the public by my writings, it is probable that after I am in the grave, that some collector of anecdotes, or biographical compiler, may pretend to furnish some particulars concerning my life and manners. It is not pleasant to think that misrepresentation or malice may fasten on my memory; and I have therefore made it the amusement of an idle hour, to compile a short account of myself. My personal history, however, is of little importance to the world. It will furnish no diversified scenes of fortune, nor relate many circumstances of myself, worth remembering. Yet I feel the fond ambition of an Author, and am willing to hope, that those who have read my Book with approbation, will be glad to know something further concerning me:

For who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey, &c.

For the satisfaction then of such kind read-

ers (if such there are) and the information of my posterity, I have drawn up this paper, which I desire my Bookseller to prefix to the next edition of my History of the West Indies.

B. E.

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COLUMBUS, and his Sons DIEGO and FERDINAND. From an ancient Spanish Picture in the Possession of EDWARD HORNE, Esq. of Bevis Mount, near Southampton.

THE Picture from which this Engraving is made, bears the marks of great antiquity, and from the words *Mar del Sud* on the chart represented in it, is known to be Spanish. The principal figure is certainly COLUMBUS, and the two young men are believed to be his sons, DIEGO and FERDINAND, to whom COLUMBUS seems to point out the course of the voyage he had made. The globe, the charts, and astronomical instruments, support this conjecture, and the figure of Hope, in the back ground, alludes probably to the great expectations which were formed throughout all Europe, of still greater discoveries. From the mention of a Southern Ocean, imperfectly and dubiously represented, (as an object at that time rather of search than of certainty) there is reason to believe that the Picture was painted immediately on COLUMBUS's return from his fourth voyage, in 1504, because it is related by Lopez de Gomera, a cotemporary historian,* that the admiral, when at Porto Bello, in 1502, had received information that there was *a great ocean on the other side of the continent extending southward*; and it is well known, that all his labours afterwards, in the fourth voyage, were directed to find out an entrance into the Southern Ocean from the Atlantic; for which purpose he explored more than 300 leagues of coast, from Cape *Gracias a Dios* to the Gulph of Darien; but the actual discovery of the South Sea was reserved for Vasco Nunez de Balboa. The age of COLUMBUS's Sons, at the time of his return from his fourth voyage, corresponds with their ap-

* F. L. de Gomara Historia de las Indias, cap. 60.

pearance in the Picture. The youngest of them, some years afterwards, compiled a short history of his Father's life; in the third chapter of which I find the following very curious description of COLUMBUS's person, and manners, with which the Picture, as far as it goes, is found also to correspond:

“Fue el almirante hombre de bien formada, i mas que mediana estatura; la cara larga, las megillas un poco altas, sin declinar à gordo macilento; la nariz aquilina; los ojos blancos i de blanco de color encendido; en su mocedad tuvo el cabello blondo; pero de treinta años la le tenia blanco: en el comer, i beber, i en el adorno de su persona era mui modesto i continente; afable en la conversation con los estranos i con los de casa mui agradable, con modestia i gravedad: fue tan observante de las cosas de la religion, que en los ayunos, i en regar el oficio divino, pudiera ser tenido por professo en religion; tan enemigo de juramento, i blasfemia, que yo juro, que jamais le vi echar otro juramento que por san Fernando; y quando se hallaba mas irritado con alguno, era su reprehension decir le: os doi à dios porque hicisteis esto ò dijisteis aquello: si alguna vez tenia que escribir no probaba la pluma, sin escribier estas palabras *Jesus cum Maria sit nobis in via*; y contan buena letra que bastara para ganar de comer.”

La Hist. del Almirante Don Christ. Colon. c. iii.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

THE discovery of a new Hemisphere by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, and the progress of the Spaniards in the conquest of it, have been deservedly the theme of a long series of histories in the several languages of Europe; and the subject has been recently resumed and illustrated by a celebrated Writer among ourselves.—It is not therefore my intention to tread again in so beaten a track, by the recital of occurrences of which few can be ignorant, if the noblest exertions of the human mind, producing events the most singular and important in the history of the world, are circumstances deserving admiration and inquiry.

My attempt, which I feel to be sufficiently arduous, is,

To present the Reader with an historical account of the origin and progress of the settlements made by our own nation in the West-Indian islands ;—

To explain their constitutional establishments, internal governments, and the political system maintained by Great Britain towards them ;—

To describe the manners and dispositions of the present inhabitants, as influenced by climate, si-

tuation, and other local causes ; comprehending in this part of my book an account of the African slave-trade ; some observations on the negro character and genius, and reflections on the system of slavery established in our colonies ;-

To furnish a more comprehensive account than has hitherto appeared of the agriculture of the Sugar Islands in general, and of their rich and valuable staple commodities, sugar, indigo, coffee, and cotton, in particular ;—finally,

To display the various and widely extended branches of their commerce ; pointing out the relations of each towards the other, and towards the several great interests, the manufactures, navigation, revenues, and lands of Great Britain.

These, together with several collateral disquisitions, are the topics on which I have endeavoured to collect, and convey to the public, useful and acceptable information. Their importance will not be disputed, and I have only to lament that my abilities are not more equal to the task I have undertaken.

But, before I proceed to investigations merely political and commercial, I have ventured on a retrospective survey of the state and condition of the West-Indian islands when first discovered by Columbus ; and I have endeavoured to delineate the most prominent features in the character and genius of their ancient inhabitants. I was led to a research of this nature, not merely for the purpose of giving uniformity to my work, but because, having resided many years in the countries of which I write, I presume to think that I am

somewhat better qualified to judge of the influence of climate and situation, on the disposition, temper, and intellects of their inhabitants, than many of those writers who without the same advantage, have undertaken to compile systems, and establish conclusions, on this subject. I conceive that, unless an author has had the benefit of actual experience and personal observation, neither genius nor industry can at all times enable him to guard against the mistakes and misrepresentations of prejudiced, ignorant, or interested men; to whose authority he submits, merely from the want of advantages which those who have possessed them have perverted. He is liable even to be misled by preceding authors, who have undertaken, on no better foundation than himself, to compile histories and form systems on the same subject: for when plausible theories are deduced, with ingenuity and eloquence, from facts confidently asserted; he suspects not, or if he suspects, is cautious of asserting, that the foundation itself (as it frequently happens) is without support; that no such facts actually exist, or, if existing, are accidental and local peculiarities only,—not premises of sufficient extent and importance whereon to ground general conclusions and systematical combination.

I have been induced to make this remark from perusing the speculations of Mons. Buffon and some other French theorists, on the condition and character of the American nations. Whether from a desire to lessen the strong abhorrence of all mankind at the cruelties exercised by the Spani-

ards in the conquest of the New World, or from a strange affectation of paradox and singularity, falsely claiming the honours of philosophy, those writers have ventured to assert, that the air and climate, or other physical phenomena, retard the growth of animated nature in the New Hemisphere, and prevent the natives from attaining to that perfection at which mankind arrive in the other quarters of the globe. Notwithstanding the variety of soil, climate, and seasons, which prevail in the several great provinces of North and South America ;—notwithstanding that the aboriginal inhabitants were divided into a great many different tribes, and distinguished also by many different languages ; it is pretended that all those various tribes were uniformly inferior, in the faculties of the mind, and the capacity of improvement, to the rest of the human species ; that they were creatures of no consideration in the book of Nature ;—denied the refined invigorating sentiment of love, and not possessing even any very powerful degree of animal desire towards multiplying their species. The author of a system entitled ‘ *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*’ declares, with unexampled arrogance, that there never has been found, throughout the whole extent of the New World, a single individual of superior sagacity to the rest. And the scope of his treatise is to demonstrate, that the poor savages were actuated, not by reason, but by a sort of animal instinct ; that Nature, having bestowed on the whole species a certain small degree of intellect to which they all individually attain, placed an

insurmountable barrier against their further progress:—of course, that they are not, (properly speaking) *men*, but beings of a secondary and subordinate rank in the scale of creation.

Although our own learned historian* is much too enlightened to adopt, in their fullest extent, these opinions;—which cannot, indeed, be read without indignation;—yet it is impossible to deny, that they have had some degree of influence in the general estimate which he has framed of the American character: for he ascribes to all the natives of the New World many of those imperfections on which the system in question is founded; and repeatedly asserts, that “the qualities belonging to the people of *all* the different tribes may be painted with the same features.”† With this bias on his pen, it is not wonderful that this author is sometimes chargeable with repugnancy and contradiction. Thus we are told that “the Americans are, in an amazing degree, strangers to the first instinct of nature (a passion for the sex), and, *in every part of the New World*, treat their women with coldness and indifference.”‡ Yet we find soon afterwards, that, “*in some countries of the New World*, the women are valued and admired, the animal passion of the sexes becomes ardent, and the dissolution of their manners is excessive.”§ It is elsewhere observed, that “the Americans were not only averse to toil, but incapable of it, and sunk under tasks which the people

* Dr. Robertson.
and 283

† P. 292.

† History of America, Vol. I. p. 280

§ History of America, Vol. I. p. 296.

of the other continent would have performed with ease;" and it is added, that "*this feebleness of constitution was universal, and may be considered as characteristic of the species.*"* It appears, however, in a subsequent page, that "wherever the Americans have been gradually accustomed to hard labour, their constitutions become robust enough to equal any effort of the natives either of Africa or Europe."† Personal debility, therefore, could not have been the peculiar characteristic of the American species; for the human frame, in every part of the globe, acquires strength by gradual employment, and is comparatively feeble without it.

Again: Among the qualities which the historian considers as universally predominant in the Americans, he ascribes to them, in a remarkable degree, a hardness of heart and a brutal insensibility to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures.‡ "So little (he observes) is the breast of a savage susceptible of those sentiments which prompt men to that feeling attention which mitigates distress, in some provinces of America the Spaniards have found it necessary to enforce the common duties of humanity by positive laws."§ Neither is this account of their inflexibility confined to the ferocious barbarian of the northern provinces, or to the miserable outcast of Terra del Fuego. The author extends his description to all the uncivilized inhabitants of the New Hemisphere. It

* History of America, p. 290.

† P. 405.

‡ P. 294.

§ P. 406.

constitutes a striking feature in his general estimate; for he establishes it as a fixed principle, that “in every part of the deportment of man in his savage state, whether towards his equals of the human species, or towards the animals below him, we recognize the same character, and trace the operations of a mind intent on its own gratifications, and regulated by its own caprice, without much attention or sensibility to the sentiments and feelings of the beings around him.”*

Certainly the learned Author, while employed in this representation, had wholly forgotten the account which he had before given of the first interview between the Spaniards and the natives of Hispaniola; when a ship of Columbus was wrecked on that island. “As soon (says the Historian) as they heard of the disaster, they crowded to the shore, with their prince Guacanahari at their head. Instead of taking advantage of the distress in which they beheld the Spaniards, to attempt any thing to their detriment, they lamented their misfortune *with tears of sincere condolence*. Not satisfied with this unavailing expression of their sympathy, they put to sea a vast number of canoes, and, under the direction of the Spaniards, assisted in saving whatever could be got out of the wreck; and by the united labour of so many hands, almost every thing of value was carried ashore. Guacanahari in person took charge of the goods, and prevented the multitude not only from embezzling, but even from inspecting too curiously what belonged to

* History of America, Vol. I? p. 407.

their guests. Next morning this prince visited Columbus, *and endeavoured to console him for his loss by offering all that he possessed to repair it.*"

Thus exceptions present themselves to every general conclusion, until we are burthened with their variety:—And at last we end just where we began; for the wonderful uniformity which is said to have distinguished the American Indians, cannot be supported by analogy, because it is not founded on nature.

Of the other branches of my work, great part, I presume to think, will be new to many of my readers. I have not met with any book that even pretends to furnish a comprehensive and satisfactory account of the origin and progress of our national settlements in the tropical parts of America. The system of agriculture practised in the West Indies, is almost as much unknown to the people of Great Britain as that of Japan. They know, indeed, that sugar, and indigo, and coffee, and cotton, are raised and produced there; but they are very generally, and to a surprising degree, uninformed concerning the method by which those and other valuable commodities are cultivated and brought to perfection. So remarkable indeed is the want of information in this respect, even among persons of the most extensive general knowledge, that in a law question which came by appeal from one of the Sugar Islands a few years ago, the noble and learned earl who presided at the hearing, thinking it necessary to give some account of the nature of rum and melasses (much being stated in the pleadings concerning the value

of those commodities) assured his auditors with great solemnity, that "melasses was the raw and unconcocted juice extracted from the cane, and from which sugar was afterwards made by boiling!"*

On the subject of the slave trade, and its concomitant circumstances, so much has been said of late by others, that it may be supposed there remains but little to be added by me. It is certain, however, that my account, both of the trade and the situation of the enslaved negroes in the British colonies, differs very essentially from the representations that have been given, not only in a great variety of pamphlets and other publications, but also by many of the witnesses that were examined before the House of Commons. The public must judge between us, and I should be in no pain about the result, if the characters of some of those persons who have stood forth on this occasion as accusers of the resident planters, were as well known in Great Britain as they are in the West Indies. What I have written on these subjects has at least this advantage, that great part of my observations are founded on personal knowledge and actual experience: and with regard to the manners and dispositions of the native Africans, as distinguished by national habits, and characteristic features, I venture to think, that my remarks will be found both new and interesting.

After all, my first object has been truth, not

* I give this anecdote on the authority of a Jamaica gentleman who was present; a person of undoubted veracity.

novelty. I have endeavoured to collect useful knowledge wheresoever it lay, and when I found books that supplied what I sought, I have sometimes been content to adopt without alteration, what was thus furnished to my hands. Thus, extracts and passages from former writers occupy some of my pages; and not having always been careful to note the authorities to which I resorted, I find it now too late to ascertain the full extent of my obligations of this kind. They may be traced most frequently, I believe, in the first and last parts of my work; in the first, because, when I began my task I had less confidence in my own resources than I found afterwards, when practice had rendered writing familiar to me; and in the last, because, when my labours grew near to a conclusion, I became weary, and was glad to get assistance wheresoever it offered.

From *living* rather than from *written* information, however, have I generally sought assistance, when my own resources have proved deficient; and it is my good fortune to boast an acquaintance with men, to whom, for local and commercial knowledge, our statesmen and senators might resort, with credit to themselves and advantage to the public. On this occasion, neither the gratitude which I owe for favours bestowed, nor the pride which I feel from the honor of his friendship, will allow me to conceal the name of EDWARD LONG, Esquire, the author of the Jamaica History, to whom I am first and principally indebted; and who, with the liberality which always accompanies true genius, has been as careful to

correct my errors, and assiduous to supply my defects, as if his own well-earned reputation had depended on the issue.

For great part of the materials which compose the History of Grenada, I am under obligations to THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esquire, formerly speaker of the assembly of that island, who, through means of a friend, furnished such answers to queries that I sent him, as encourage me to present that portion of my work to the public with a confidence which I dare not assume in my account of some other of the islands. Yet, even with regard to most of these, I have no cause to complain that assistance has been oftentimes denied me. Concerning Barbadoes and St. Christopher's in particular, I have been favoured with much accurate and acceptable information, by JOHN BRAITHWAITE and ALEX. DOUGLAS, Esquires, gentlemen who are intimately acquainted with the concerns of those colonies; and the polite and cheerful readiness with which they satisfied my enquiries, entitle them to this public testimony of my thanks.

The same tribute is most justly due to BENJAMIN VAUGHAN and GEORGE HIBBERT, Esquires, merchants of London, for many excellent and important remarks, and much valuable matter; which at length have enabled me to look back on the commercial disquisitions in the last book, with a degree of satisfaction that at one period I despaired of obtaining; being well apprized that this part of my work will, on many accounts, be most obnoxious to criticism. That it is now rendered free from mistakes, I do not indeed pretend. In all

researches of a political and commercial nature, the best authorities are sometimes fallible; and there is frequently much difference both in general opinion and particular computation between those who are equally solicitous for the discovery of truth. The facts, however, that I have collected cannot fail to be of use, whether the conclusions I have drawn from them be well-founded or not.

I might here close this introductory discourse, and leave my book to the candour of my readers; but having made my acknowledgments to those gentlemen who have given me their kind assistance in the compilation of it; and feeling, in common with all the inhabitants of the British West Indies, a just sense of indignation at the malignant and unmerited aspersions which are daily and hourly thrown upon the planters, for supposed improper and inhuman treatment of their African labourers; I should ill acquit myself, as the historian of those colonies, if I omitted this opportunity of giving my testimony to the fulness of their gratitude, their honest pride and lively sensibility, at beholding, in a son of their beloved Sovereign, the generous assertor of their rights, and the strenuous and able defender of their injured characters and insulted honour! The condescending and unsolicited interposition of the Duke of CLARENCE on this occasion is the more valuable, as, happily for the planters, it is founded on his Royal Highness's personal observation of their manners, and knowledge of their dispositions, acquired on the spot. Thus patronized and protected, while they treat with silent scorn and deserved contempt the

base efforts of those persons who, without the least knowledge of the subject, assail them with obloquy and outrage, they find a dignified support in the consciousness of their own innocence, even under the misguided zeal and unfavourable prepossessions of better men. It might indeed be hoped, for the interests of truth and humanity, that *such* men would now frankly acknowledge their error, and ingenuously own that we have been most cruelly traduced and ignominiously treated; or if this be too much to ask, we may at least expect that gentlemen of education and candour will no longer persist in affording countenance to the vulgar prejudices of the envious and illiberal, by giving currency to suggestions which *they* cannot possibly know to be true, and which *we* know to be false.

London, 1793.

P R E F A C E

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

THE sale of a large impression of this Work, in little more than twelve months, having induced the Bookseller to publish a second edition, I have availed myself of the opportunity of correcting several errors which have crept into the first; but I have not found it necessary to enlarge my Book with any new matter of my own worthy of mention. The only additions of importance are a few notes and illustrations, with which the kindness of friends has enabled me to supply some of my deficiencies. I have thought it proper, however, in that part of the Sixth Book which treats of the commercial system, to insert a copy of the provisional bill presented to the House of Commons in March 1782, by the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the purpose of reviving the beneficial intercourse that existed before the late American war, between the United States and the British Sugar Islands. This bill, through the influence of popular prejudice and other causes, was unfortunately lost. Had it passed into a law, it would probably have saved from the

horrors of famine fifteen thousand unoffending Negroes, who miserably perished (in Jamaica alone) from the sad effects of the fatal restrictive system which prevailed! The publication of this bill, therefore, is discharging a debt of justice to the Minister and myself: to Mr. PITT, because it proves that his first ideas on this question were founded on principles of sound policy and humanity; to myself, because it gives me an opportunity of shewing that the sentiments which I expressed on the same subject are justified by his high authority.

This is not a business of selfishness or faction; nor (like many of those questions which are daily moved in Parliament merely to agitate and perplex government) can it be dismissed by a vote. It will come forward again and again, and haunt administration in a thousand hideous shapes, until a more liberal policy shall take place; for no folly can possibly exceed the notion that any measures pursued by Great Britain will prevent the American States from having, *some time or other*, a commercial intercourse with our West Indian territories on ~~their~~ ^{their} own terms. With a chain of coast of twenty degrees of latitude, possessing the finest harbours for the purpose in the world, all lying so near to the Sugar Colonies, and the track to Europe,—with a country abounding in every thing the Islands have occasion for, and which they can obtain nowhere else; all these circumstances, necessarily

and naturally, lead to a commercial intercourse between our Islands and the United States. It is true, we may ruin our sugar Colonies, and ourselves also, in the attempt to prevent it; but it is an experiment which God and Nature have marked out as impossible to succeed. The present restraining system is forbidding men to help each other; men who by their necessities, their climate and productions, are standing in perpetual need of mutual assistance, and able to supply it.

I write with the freedom of history;—for it is the cause of humanity that I plead.—At the same time there is not a man living who is more desirous than myself of testifying, by every possible means, the sensibility and affection which are due to our gracious SOVEREIGN, for that paternal solicitude and munificent interposition in favour of his remotest subjects, to which it is owing that the Bread Fruit, and other valuable productions of the most distant regions, now flourish in the British West Indies. These are indeed “imperial works, and worthy kings.” After several unsuccessful attempts, the introduction of the Bread Fruit was happily accomplished, in January 1793, by the arrival at St. Vincent of his Majesty’s ship Providence, Captain WILLIAM BLIGH, and the Assistant brig, Captain NATHANIEL PORTLOCK, from the South Seas; having on board many hundreds of those trees, and a vast number of other choice and curious

plants, in a very flourishing condition; all which have been properly distributed through the islands of St. Vincent and Jamaica, and already afford the pleasing prospect that his Majesty's goodness will be felt to the most distant periods. The cultivation of these valuable exotics will, without doubt, in a course of years, lessen the dependence of the Sugar Islands on North America for food and necessaries; and not only supply subsistence for future generations, but, probably furnish fresh incitements to industry, new improvements in the arts, and new subjects of commerce!

The Assembly of Jamaica, co-operating with the benevolent intentions of his Majesty, have lately purchased the magnificent botanical garden of Mr. East†, and placed it on the public estab-

* Extract of a letter to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, from the Botanic gardener in Jamaica; dated December 1793.

"All the trees under my charge are thriving with the greatest luxuriance. Some of the Bread Fruit are upwards of eleven feet high, with leaves thirty-six inches long; and my success in cultivating them has exceeded my most sanguine expectations. The cinnamon Tree is become very common, and Mangoes are in such plenty as to be planted in the negro-grounds. There are also several bearing trees of the Jaack or bastard bread-fruit, which is exactly the same as the Nanka of Timor. We have one Nutmeg Plant, which is rather sickly, &c. &c."

† On the death of HINTON EAST, Esq. the founder of the botanic garden, it became the property of his nephew, EDWARD HYDE EAST, Esq., barrister at law, and member of

lishment, under the care of skillful gardeners, one of whom circumnavigated the globe with Captain BIGH. I might therefore have considerably enlarged the *Hortus Eastensis* annexed to the Third Volume of this Work, but the particulars did not come to my hands in time. However, that the lovers of natural history may not be wholly disappointed, I shall subjoin to this Preface a Catalogue of the more rare and valuable exotics which now flourish in Jamaica. The present improved state of botany in that island will thus be seen at one view.

In contemplating this display of industry and science, and offering the tribute of grateful veneration to that SOVEREIGN, under whose royal patronage and bounty so many valuable productions have been conveyed, in a growing state, from one extremity of the world to the other, it is impossible that the inhabitants of the British West Indies can forget how much also is due to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, the President of the Royal Society; by whose warm and unwearied exertions the second voyage to the South Seas was determined on, after the first had proved abortive. Among all the labours of life, if there is one pursuit more replete than any other with benevolence, more likely to add comforts to existing people, and even to augment their numbers by

parliament for Great Bedwin, who with great generosity offered it to the Assembly of Jamaica, for the use of the public, at their own price.

augmenting their means of subsistence, it is certainly that of spreading abroad the bounties of creation, by transplanting from one part of the globe to another such natural productions as are likely to prove beneficial to the interests of humanity. In this generous effort, Sir JOSEPH BANKS has employed a considerable part of his time, attention, and fortune; and the success which, in many cases, has crowned his endeavours, will be felt in the enjoyment, and rewarded by the blessings of posterity.

On the whole, the introduction of the Bread Fruit and other plants from the South Sea Islands—the munificence displayed by HIS MAJESTY in causing the voyage to be undertaken by which it was finally accomplished—the liberality and judgment of those that advised it—and the care and attention manifested by those who were more immediately entrusted with the conduct of it, are circumstances that claim a distinguished place, and constitute an important era, in the History of the British West Indies.

Having said thus much in honour of my countrymen, it is but justice to observe, that the French nation (whilst a government existed among them) began to manifest a noble spirit of emulation in the same liberal pursuit. It is to the industry of the French that Jamaica (as will be seen in the History of that Island) owes the Cinnamon, the Mango, and some other delicious spices and fruits. Among other branches of the

vegetable kingdom, introduced by them into their West Indian possessions, they reckoned three different species of the Sugar Cane, all of which were previously unknown to the planters and inhabitants. I have, in the second volume of this edition, observed, that Sir JOSEPH BANKS had satisfied me that such varieties did exist; but I was not then apprized that their cultivation had been successfully attempted, in any of our own islands. By the kindness of Admiral Sir JOHN LAFOREY, Baronet, I am now enabled to gratify my readers with such full and authentic information on this subject, as cannot fail to be highly acceptable to every inhabitant of the West Indies.

These canes were originally introduced into Martinico; and it was a fortunate circumstance that the distinguished officer whom I have named commanded about that time on the naval station at Antigua. It was equally fortunate that, with a love of natural knowledge, he possessed plantations in the Island last-mentioned; for it is extremely probable, from the disturbances and distractions which have prevailed ever since in every one of the French colonies, that there would not at this time have been found a trace of these plants in any part of the West Indies, if Sir JOHN LAFOREY had not personally attended to their preservation. With the account which his politeness has enabled me to present to the public I shall conclude this Introductory Discourse.

*Remarks on the EAST INDIA and other
CANES imported into the French Cha-
raibean Islands, and lately introduced into
the Island of Antigua, by Sir JOHN LAFO-
REY, Bart.*

“ One sort was brought from the Island of Bourbon, reported by the French to be the growth of the coast of Malabar.

“ Another sort from the Island of Otaheite.

“ Another sort from Batavia.

“ The two former are much alike, both in their appearance and growth, but that of Otaheite is said to make the finest sugar. They are much larger than those of our islands, the joints of some measuring eight or nine inches long, and six in circumference.

“ Their colour, and that of their leaves also, differs from ours, being of a pale green; their leaves broader, their points falling towards the ground as they grow out, instead of being erect like those of our islands. Their juice also, when expressed, differs from that of our canes; being of a very pale, instead of a deep green colour. I caused one of the largest of these canes to be cut, at what I deemed its full growth, and likewise one of the largest of the island canes that could be found upon each of three other plantations. When they were properly trimmed for grinding, I had them weighed: the Malabar canes weighed upwards of seven pounds; nei-

ther of the other three exceeded four pounds and a quarter.

“ They are ripe enough to grind at the age of ten months ; a few cut for a trial by my manager, above twelve months old, were judged to have lost part of their juices by standing too long.

“ They appear to stand the dry weather better than ours ; I observed, that after a drought of a long continuance, when the leaves of our own canes began to turn brown at their points, these continued their colour throughout.

“ A gentleman of Montserrat had some plants given to him by Monsieur Pinnel, one of the most considerable planters of Gaudaloupe, who told him he had, in the preceding year (1792) in which an exceeding good drought had prevailed, planted amongst a large field of the island canes half an acre of these ; that the want of rain, and the *borer*, had damaged the former so much, that he could not make sugar from them, but the latter had produced him three hogsheads.

“ In the spring of this year, (1794) a trial was made of the Malabar canes, on one of my plantations ; 160 bunches from holes of five feet square were cut, they produced upwards of 350 lbs. of very good sugar ; the juice came into sugar in the teache, in much less time than is usually required for that of the other canes, and threw up very little scum. The produce was in the proportion of 3,500 lbs. to an acre ; the weather had then been so very dry, and the *borer* so destructive,

that I am sure no one part of that plantation would have yielded above half that quantity from the other canes, in the same space of ground. We had not then the benefit of the new invented clarifiers, which, though imported, had not been fixed up for want of time.

“ The French complain that these canes do not yield a sufficient quantity of field trash, to boil the juice into sugar ; to this, and to their never throwing up an arrow, I think their superior size may in good measure be attributed. This inconvenience may be obviated, by the substitution of coals ; and the increased quantity of the cane-trash, which their magnitude will furnish (and which we reckon the richest manure we have, when properly prepared) will well indemnify the expense of firing.

“ The Batavia canes are a deep purple on the outside ; they grow short-jointed, and small in circumference, but bunch exceedingly, and vegetate so quick, that they spring up from the plant in one-third the time those of our islands do ; the joints, soon after they form, all burst longitudinally. They have the appearance of being very hardy, and bear dry weather well : a few bunches were cut and made into sugar at the same time the experiment was made with the white canes. The report made to me of them was, that they yielded a great deal of juice, which seemed richer than that of the others, but the sugar was strongly tinged with the colour of the rind ; and it was ob-

served, that upon the expression of them at the mill, the juice was of a bright purple; but by the time it had reached through the spout to the clarifier (a very short distance) it became of a dingy iron-colour. I am told the Batavia sugar imported into Amsterdam is very fair; so that if those canes should otherwise answer well, means may doubtless be obtained to discharge the purple tinge from their juice.

LONDON, 1794.

THE
H I S T O R Y,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF
THE BRITISH COLONIES
IN THE WEST INDIES.

BOOK I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THEIR ANCIENT STATE AND INHABITANTS.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical arrangement.—Name.—Climate.—Sea-breeze, and Land-wind.—Beauty and singularity of the vegetable and animal creation.—Magnificence and sublimity of the mountains: reflections concerning the origin of these islands, &c.

GEOGRAPHERS, following the distribution of nature, divide the vast Continent of America into two great parts, North and South; the narrow but mountainous Isthmus of Darien serving as a link to connect them together, and forming a rampart against the encroachments of the Atlantic on the one side, and of the Pa-

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cific Ocean on the other. These great Oceans were anciently distinguished also, from their relative situation, by the names of the North and South Seas*.

Name.

To that prodigious chain of Islands which extend in a curve from the Florida Shore on the Northern Peninsula, to the Gulph of Venezuela in the Southern, is given the denomination of *West Indies*, from the name of India originally assigned to them by Columbus. This illustrious navigator planned his expedition, not as Raynal and others have supposed, under the idea of introducing a New World to the knowledge of the Old; but, principally, in the view of finding a route to India by a Western navigation; which he was led to think would prove less tedious than by the coast of Africa: and this conclusion would have been just, if the geography of the Ancients, on which it was founded, had been accurate†. Indeed, so firmly

* The appellation of *North*, applied to that part of the Atlantic which flows into the Gulph of Darien, seems now to be entirely disused; but the Pacific is still commonly called the *South Sea*. It was discovered in 1513.

† “The spherical figure of the earth was known to the ancient geographers. They invented the method still in use, of computing the longitude and latitude of different places. According to their doctrine, the equator contained 360 degrees; these they divided into twenty-four parts, or hours, each equal to fifteen degrees. The country

persuaded was Columbus of its truth and certainty, that he continued to assert his belief of it after the discovery of Cuba and Hispaniola ; not doubting that those islands constituted some part of the Eastern extremity of Asia : and the nations of Europe, satisfied with such authority, concurred in the same idea. Even when the discovery of the Pacific Ocean had demonstrated his mistake, all the countries which Columbus had visited still retained the name of the Indies ; and in contradistinction to those at which the Portuguese, after passing the Cape of Good Hope, had at length arrived by an Eastern

of the *Seres* or *Sinæ* being the farthest part of India known to the ancients, was supposed, by Marinus Tyrius, the most eminent of the ancient geographers before Ptolemy, to be fifteen hours, or 225 degrees to the east of the first meridian, passing through the Fortunate Islands. If this supposition was well founded, the country of the *Seres*, or China, was only nine hours, or 135 degrees west from the Fortunate or Canary Islands ; and the navigation in that direction was much shorter than by the course which the Portuguese were pursuing." From this account, for which the reader is indebted to the learned Dr. Robertson, it is evident that the scheme of Columbus was founded on rational systematical principles, according to the light which his age afforded ; whereas if he had proposed, without any such support, to discover a new hemisphere by sailing westward, he would have been justly considered as an arrogant and chimerical projector, and success itself would not have reconciled his temerity to the sober dictates of reason.

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course, they were now denominated the *Indies of the West**.

Among the geographers of those days, however, there were some, who, envying the glory of Columbus, or giving more credit to ancient fable than to the achievements of their contemporaries, persisted in assigning to the newly-discovered Islands the appellation of *Antilia* or *Antiles*: the name (according to Charlevoix) of an imaginary country, placed in ancient charts about two hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores; and it is a name still very generally used by foreign navigators, although the etymology of the word is as uncertain as the application of it is unjust. To the British nation the name bestowed by Columbus is abundantly more familiar: and thus the whole of the New Hemisphere is, with us, commonly comprised under three great divisions; North America, South America, and the West Indies.†

* Columbus sailed on his first voyage the 3d of August, 1492. In 1494 Bartholemus Dias discovered the Cape of Good Hope; but it was not doubled till the year 1497, when Vasquez de Gama succeeded (for the first time in modern navigation) in this, as it was then supposed, formidable attempt.

† The term *Antiles* is applied by Hoffman to the Windward or Charaibean Islands only, and is by him thus accounted for: “*Dicuntur Antilæ Americæ quasi ante Insulas Americæ, nempe ante majores Insulas Sinus Mexicani.*”

But, subordinate to this comprehensive and simple arrangement, necessity or convenience has introduced more minute and local distinctions. That portion of the Atlantic, which is separated from the main Ocean to the North and to the East, by the Islands I have mentioned, although commonly known by the general appellation of the Mexican Gulph, is itself properly subdivided into three distinct Basins: the Gulph of Mexico, the Bay of Honduras, and the Charaibean Sea.* The latter takes its name

(*Hoffman Lexic. Univ.*) Rochefort and Du Tertre explain the word nearly in the same manner, while Mons. D'Anville applies the name to those islands only, which are more immediately *opposed to*, or situated *against*, the Continent: thus he terms Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico, *the Great Antiles*, and the small Islands of Aruba, Curaçoa, Bonair, Magaritta, and some others near the coast of Caraccas on the Southern Peninsula, *the Less*; excluding the Charaibean Islands altogether. A recurrence to the early Spanish historians would have demonstrated to all these writers, that the word *Antilia* was applied to Hispaniola and Cuba, before the discovery either of the Windward Islands, or any part of the American continent. This appears from the following passage in the First Book of the First Decad of Peter Martyr, which bears date from the Court of Spain, November 1493, eight months only after Columbus's return from his first expedition; "Ophiram Insulam sese reperisse refert: sed Cosmographorum tractu diligenter considerato, *Antiliæ* Insulæ sunt illæ et adjacentes alie: hanc Hispaniolam appellavit, &c."

* Vide Introduction to the West Indian Atlas, by Jeffries.

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from that class of Islands which bound this part of the ocean to the East. Most of these were anciently possessed by a nation of Cannibals, the scourge and terror of the mild and inoffensive natives of Hispaniola, who frequently expressed to Columbus their dread of those fierce and warlike invaders, stiling them Charaibes or Caribbees.* And it was in consequence of this information, that the Islands to which these savages belonged, when discovered afterwards by Columbus, were by him denominated generally the Charaibean Islands.

Of this class, however, a group nearly adjoining to the eastern side of St. John de Porto Rico, is likewise called the Virgin Isles; a distinction of which the origin will be explained in its place.†

* Herrera, lib. i. Fer. Columbus, chap. xxxiii.

† It may be proper to observe, that the old Spanish navigators, in speaking of the West Indian Islands in general, frequently distinguish them also into two classes, by the terms *Barlovento* and *Sotavento*, from whence our *Windward* and *Leeward* Island; the Charaibean constituting in strict propriety the former class (and as such I shall speak of them in the course of this work), and the four large islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Porto Rico, the latter. But our English mariners appropriate both terms to the Charaibean Islands only, subdividing them according to their situation in the course of the trade wind; the Windward Islands by their arrangement terminating, I believe, with Martinico, and the Leeward commencing at Dominica, and extending to Porto Rico.

Neither must it pass unobserved, that the name of Bahama is commonly applied by the English to that cluster of small islands, rocks, and reefs of sand, which stretch in a north-westerly direction for the space of near three hundred leagues, from the Northern coast of Hispaniola to the Bahama Strait, opposite the Florida Shore. Whether this appellation is of Indian origin, as commonly supposed, is a question I cannot answer; neither does it merit very anxious investigation; yet these little islands have deservedly a claim to particular notice; for it was one of them* that had the honour of first receiving Columbus, after a voyage the most bold and magnificent in design, and the most important in its consequences, of any that the mind of man has conceived, or national adventure undertaken, from the beginning of the world to the present hour.

Most of the countries of which I propose to treat being situated beneath the tropic of Cancer, the circumstances of climate, as well in regard to general heat, as to the periodical rains and consequent variation of seasons, are nearly the same throughout the whole. The tempe- Climate.

* Called by the Indians Guanahani, by the Spaniards St. Salvadore, and is known to English seamen by the name of Cat Island. The whole group is called by the Spaniards Lucayos.

nature of the air varies indeed considerably according to the elevation of the land ; but, with this exception, the medium degree of heat is much the same in all the countries of this part of the globe.

A tropical year seems properly to comprehend but two distinct seasons ; the *wet* and the *dry* ; but as the rains in these climates constitute two great periods, I shall describe it, like the European year, under four divisions.

The vernal season, or Spring, may be said to commence with the month of May, when the foliage of the trees evidently becomes more vivid, and the parched savannas begin to change their russet hue, even previous to the first periodical rains, which are now daily expected, and generally set in about the middle of the month. These, compared with the Autumnal rains, may be said to be gentle showers. They come from the South, and commonly fall every day about noon, and break up with thunderstorms ; creating a bright and beautiful verdure, and a rapid and luxuriant vegetation. The thermometer at this season varies considerably ; commonly falling six or eight degrees immediately after the diurnal rains ; its medium height may be stated at 75°.

After these rains have continued about a fortnight, the weather becomes dry, settled, and

salutary ; and the tropical Summer reigns in full glory. Not a cloud is to be perceived ; and the sky blazes with irresistible fierceness. For some hours, commonly between seven and ten in the morning, before the setting in of the sea-breeze or trade-wind, which at this season blows from the south-east with great force and regularity until late in the evening, the heat is scarcely supportable ; but, no sooner is the influence felt of this refreshing wind, than all nature revives, and the climate, in the shade, becomes not only very tolerable, but pleasant. The thermometer now varies but little in the whole twenty-four hours : its medium, near the coast, may be stated at about 80° . I have seldom observed it higher than 85° at noon, nor much below 75° at sunrise*.

The nights at this season are transcendently beautiful. The clearness and brilliancy of the heavens, the serenity of the air, and the soft tranquillity in which nature reposes, contribute to harmonize the mind, and produce the most

* Mr. Long, in his history of Jamaica, justly observes, that “ it is not merely a high degree of heat which renders a climate unwholesome, but the sudden change from great heat to (comparatively) great coolness, and *vice versa*.” Such transitions frequently occur in the southern provinces of North America. In Virginia, Mr. Jefferson relates, that the mercury in Fahrenheit’s thermometer has been known to descend from 98° to 47° in thirteen hours. The West India Islands are happily exempt from those noxious variations.

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calm and delightful sensations. The moon too in these climates displays far greater radiance than in Europe. The smallest print is legible by her light, and in the moon's absence her function is not ill supplied by the brightness of the milky-way, and by that glorious planet Venus, which appears here like a little moon, and glitters with so refulgent a beam as to cast a shade from trees, buildings, and other objects, making full amends for the short stay and abrupt departure of the crepusculum or twilight.*

This state of the weather commonly continues, with little variation, from the beginning of June until the middle of August, when the diurnal breeze begins to intermit, and the atmosphere becomes sultry, incommodious, and suffocating. In the latter end of this month, and most part of September, we look about in vain for coolness and comfort. The thermometer occasionally exceeds 90°, and instead of a steady and refreshing wind from the sea, there

* In the mountainous and interior parts of the larger islands, innumerable *fire-flies* abound at night, which have a surprising appearance to a stranger. They consist of different species, some of which emit a light, resembling a spark of fire, from a globular prominence near each eye; and others from their sides in the act of respiration. They are far more luminous than the glow-worm, and fill the air on all sides, like so many living stars, to the great astonishment and admiration of a traveller unaccustomed to the country. In the day-time they disappear.



are usually faint breezes and calms alternately. These are preludes to the second periodical, or Autumnal, seasons. Large towering clouds, fleecy and of a reddish hue, are now seen, in the morning, in the quarters of the south and south-east; the tops of the mountains at the same time appear clear of clouds, and the objects upon them wear a blueish cast, and seem much nearer to the spectator than usual. When these vast accumulations of vapour have risen to a considerable height in the atmosphere, they commonly move horizontally towards the mountains, proclaiming their progress in deep and rolling thunder, which, neverberated from peak to peak, and answered by the distant roaring of the sea, heightens the majesty of the scene, and irresistibly lifts up the mind of the spectator to the great Author of all sublimity.*

The waters, however, with which these congregated vapours load the atmosphere, seldom fall with great and general force until the beginning of October. It is then that the heavens pour down cataracts. An European who has

* The thunder generally ceases towards the evening, but, as the night sets in, the eye is irresistibly attracted towards the mountains by the distant lightning, which issues from the clouds in ten thousand brilliant corruscations, and plays harmlessly along the summits of the mountains in various fantastic shapes. It is said that the *Aurora Borealis* is never seen in the West Indies; but I have beheld lunar rainbows frequently.

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not visited these climates, can form no just conception of the quantity of water which deluges the earth at this season: by an exact account which was kept of the rain which fell in one year in Barbadoes (1754) it appeared to have been 87¹/₁₀ cubic inches, equal to 7 feet 3¹/₁₀ inches perpendicular.*

It is now, in the interval between the beginning of August and the latter end of October, that hurricanes, those dreadful visitations of the Almighty, are apprehended. The prognostics of these elementary conflicts, have been minutely described by various writers, and their effects are known by late mournful experience to every inhabitant of every island within the tropics, but their immediate cause seems to lie far beyond the limits of our circumscribed knowledge.†

* Taking the whole islands throughout, from sixty to sixty-five inches appear to be about the medium of rain in seasonable years. If this quantity should annually fall in England, the country would be deluged, and the fruits of the earth destroyed. The power of the sun, at that distance from the equator, would be too feeble to exhale a sufficient quantity of it. On the other hand, if so small a portion as 21 inches only, should fall in the whole year at Barbadoes or Jamaica, where the exhalation by the sun and the sea-breeze is so great, the springs and rivers would probably be dried up, and the inhabitants perish by thirst and famine.

† Earthquakes also are not unfrequent; but none have been productive of mischief since the fatal one of June,

Towards the end of November, or sometimes not till the middle of December, a considerable change in the temperature of the air is perceivable. The coasts to the northward are now beaten by a rough and heavy sea, roaring with incessant noise; the wind varies from the east to the north-east and north, sometimes driving before it, across the highest mountains, not only heavy rains but hail; till at length, the north wind having acquired sufficient force, the atmosphere is cleared; and now comes on a succession of serene and pleasant weather, the north-east and northerly winds spreading coolness and delight throughout the whole of this burning region.

If this interval, therefore, from the beginning of December to the end of April, be called winter, it is certainly the finest winter on the globe. To valetudinarians and persons advanced in life, it is the climate of Paradise.

1692, which swallowed up Port Royal. Slight shocks are felt in Jamaica I believe every year, generally about the month of June, immediately after the May rains. If I might venture into the regions of conjecture, I should impute these little concussions solely to changes in the atmosphere, and rather call them *air-quakes* than *earthquakes*: they are however very terrifying. During the autumnal rains the climate is very sickly, and the four last months of the year commonly prove fatal to a great many of the old inhabitants, but more especially to persons of a full habit newly arrived from Europe, and seafaring people.

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The account which I have thus given is, however, to be received not as uniformly exact and minutely particular; but as a general representation only, subject to many variations and exceptions. In the large islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica, whose lofty mountains are clothed with forests perhaps as old as the deluge, the rains are much more frequent and violent than in the small islands to windward; some of which are without mountains, and others without wood; both powerful agents on the atmosphere. In the interior and elevated districts of the three former islands, I believe there are showers in every month in the year; and on the northern coasts of those islands, considerable rains are expected in December or January, soon after the setting in of the north winds.

Winds.

Concerning the trade-wind, or diurnal sea-breeze, which blows in these climates from the east, and its collateral points, with little intermission or variation nine months in the year, the causes of it having been traced and displayed by numerous writers, it is unnecessary for me to treat; but the peculiarity of the land-wind by night (than which nothing can be more grateful and refreshing) has been less generally noticed. This is an advantage, among others, which the larger islands of the West Indies derive from the great inequality of their surface; for as soon as the sea-breeze dies away, the hot



air of the plains being rarefied, ascends towards the tops of the mountains, and is there condensed by the cold; which making it specifically heavier than it was before, it descends back to the plains on both sides of the ridge. Hence a night-wind is felt in all the mountainous countries under the torrid zone, blowing on all sides from the land towards the shore, so that on a north shore the wind shall come from the south, and on the south shore from the north. Agreeably to this hypothesis, it is observable that in the islands to windward, where they have no mountains, they have no land-breeze.*

Of the general appearance of a distant country, and the scenery with which it is clothed, it is difficult, by mere verbal description, to convey an idea. To the first discoverers, the prospect of these islands must have been interesting beyond all that imagination can at present conceive. Even at this day, when the mind is prepared and expectation awakened by antecedent accounts, they are beheld by the voyager for the

General appearance.

* The account thus given of the land-wind is chiefly in the words of Dr. Franklin, whose description is so precise and accurate as to admit of no improvement. In Barbadoes, and most of the small islands to windward, the sea-breeze blows as well by night as by day. It is sometimes the case in Jamaica in the months of June and July, the land at that time being heated to such a degree, that the cold air of the mountains is not sufficiently dense to check the current which flows from the sea.


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first time, with strong emotions of admiration and pleasure; arising not only from the novelty of the scene, but also from the beauty of the smaller islands, and the sublimity of the larger, whose lofty mountains form a stupendous and awful picture; the subject both of wonder and contemplation.*

* To the first voyagers to the West Indies, many must have been the objects of astonishment, and in some respects of terror, even before the appearance of land; such as the variation of the compass, the regularity of the winds, the water-spout, and other phænomena; of the existence of which they were previously unapprised. It is in such cases that terror exerts its power over the mind with uncontrollable ascendancy; for reason and reflection can furnish no argument to oppose to its progress. Columbus in truth found himself amidst a new creation. What, for instance, could have more strongly excited curiosity than the first sight of that wonderful little animal *the flying fish*? Who would have believed that the natives of the deep had power to quit their watery element, and fly aloft with the birds of the air! It was an era of miracles, and considering the propensity of mankind to magnify what truly is strange, the modesty displayed by Columbus in speaking of his enterprises and discoveries, and the strict adherence to truth which he appears on all occasions to have manifested, form a very distinguishing feature in his character. In general the travellers of those days not only reported wonderful things which never existed, but sometimes even really believed what they reported. In 1512 John Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard of distinction (as we are informed by Herrera) actually took a voyage to Florida for the purpose of bathing in the River *Bimini*,

Nor did these promising territories disappoint expectation on a nearer search and more accurate inspection. Columbus, whose veracity has never been suspected, speaks of their beauty and fertility in terms of the highest admiration :
 “ There is a river (he observes in one of his
 “ letters to King Ferdinand written from Cuba)
 “ which discharges itself into the harbour that
 “ I have named Porto Santo, of sufficient depth
 “ to be navigable. I had the curiosity to sound
 “ it, and found it eight fathom. Yet the water
 “ is so limpid, that I can easily discern the
 “ sand at the bottom. The banks of this river
 “ are embellished with lofty palm-trees, whose
 “ shade gives a delicious freshness to the air ;
 “ and the birds and the flowers are uncommon
 “ and beautiful. I was so delighted with the
 “ scene, that I had almost come to the resolu-
 “ tion of staying here the remainder of my days ;

which he had been told and believed would restore him to youth, like the cauldron of Medea. If we laugh at the credulity of this old man, what shall we say to our own learned countryman Sir Walter Raleigh, who sixty years afterwards, in the history of his voyage to Guiana, gives an account of a nation *who were born without heads, and whose eyes were placed in their shoulders*. Raleigh does not indeed pretend that he had seen any of these strange people himself, but he repeats what he had heard from others with a gravity and solemnity which evince that he seriously believed their existence. See his Account of Guiana in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii.

BOOK “for believe me, Sire, these countries far sur-
I.  “pass all the rest of the world in beauty and
“conveniency; and I have frequently ob-
“served to my people, that, with all my en-
“deavours to convey to your Majesty an ade-
“quate idea of the charming objects which
“continually present themselves to our view,
“the description will fall greatly short of the
“reality.”

How ill informed, or prejudiced, are those writers, therefore, who, affecting to disbelieve, or endeavouring to palliate, the enormities of the Spanish invaders, represent these once delightful spots, when first discovered by Columbus, to have been so many impenetrable and unhealthy deserts! It is true, that after the Spaniards, in the course of a few bloody years, had exterminated the ancient and rightful possessors, the earth, left to its own natural fertility, beneath the influence of a tropical sun, teemed with noxious vegetation. Then, indeed, the fairest of these islands became so many frightful solitudes; impervious and unwholesome. Such was the condition of Jamaica when wrested from the Spanish crown in 1655, and such is the condition of great part of Cuba and Porto Rico at this day: for the infinitely wise and benevolent Governor of the universe, to compel the exertion of those faculties which he has given us, has ordained, that by human cultivation

alone, the earth becomes the proper habitation of man.*

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But as the West Indian Islands in their ancient state were not without culture, so neither were they generally noxious to health. The plains or savannas were regularly sown, twice in the year, with that species of grain which is now well known in Europe by the name of Turkey Wheat. It was called by the Indians Mahez, or Maize, a name it still bears in all the islands, and does not require very laborious cultivation. This however constituted but a part only, and not the most considerable part, of the vegetable food of the natives. As these countries were at the same time extremely populous, both the hills and the vallies (of the smaller islands especially) were necessarily cleared of underwood, and the trees which remained afforded a shade that was cool, airy, and delicious. Of these trees some, as the papaw and

* Dr. Lind, in his "Essay on the Diseases of Hot Climates," has preserved an extract from the Journal of an Officer who sailed up a river on the coast of Guinea, which affords a striking illustration of this remark: "We were (says the officer) thirty miles distant from the sea, in a country altogether uncultivated, overflowed with water—surrounded with thick impenetrable woods, and over-run with slime. The air was so vitiated, noisome, and thick, that our torches and candles burnt dim, and seemed ready to be extinguished; and even the human voice lost its natural tone." Part I. p. 64.

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palmeto,* are, without doubt, the most graceful of all the vegetable creation. Others continue to bud, blossom, and bear fruit throughout the year. Nor is it undeserving notice, that the foliage of the most part springing only from the summit of the trunk, and thence expanding into wide-spreading branches, closely but elegantly arranged, every grove is an assemblage of ma-

* The species here meant (for there are several) is the palmeto-royal, or mountain-cabbage, so called because the upper part of the trunk is sometimes eaten, and supposed to resemble the European cabbage in flavour. Ligon mentions some, at the first settlement of Barbadoes, about 200 feet in height; but Mr. Hughes observes, that the highest in his time, in that island, was 134 feet. I am inclined to believe, that I have seen them in Jamaica upwards of 150 feet in height; but it is impossible to speak with certainty without an actual measurement. "Neither the tall cedars of Lebanon (says Hughes) nor any trees of the forest, are equal to it in height, beauty, or proportion; so that it claims among vegetables, that superiority which Virgil gives to Rome among the cities of Italy:

*Verum hæc tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes,
Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi."*

The upper part of the trunk, from whence the foliage springs, resembles a well-turned finely polished baluster, of a lively green colour, gently swelling from its pedestal, and diminishing gradually to the top, where it expands into branches waving like plumes of ostrich feathers. From the center of the summit rises the *spatha* or sheath, terminating in an acute point. The trunk itself is not less graceful; being a straight, smooth, slightly annulated column, large at the base, and tapering from thence to the insertion of the baluster or cabbage.

jestic columns, supporting a verdant canopy, and CHAP.
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excluding the sun, without impeding the circula-
tion of the air. Thus the shade, at all times
impervious to the blaze, and refreshed by the
diurnal breeze, affords not merely a refuge from
occasional inconveniency, but a most wholesome
and delightful retreat and habitation.


Such were these orchards of the Sun, and
woods of perennial verdure ; of a growth unknown
to the frigid clime and less vigorous soil of
Europe ; for what is the oak compared to the
cedar or mahogany, of each of which the trunk
frequently measures from eighty to ninety feet
from the base to the limbs ? What European
forest has ever given birth to a stem equal to that
of the ceiba,* which alone, simply rendered con-
cave, has been known to produce a boat ca-
pable of containing one hundred persons ? or the
still greater fig, the sovereign of the vegetable
creation,—itself a forest ? †

The majestic scenery of these gigantic groves
was, at the same time, enlivened by the singular

* The wild cotton tree.

† This monarch of the wood, whose empire extends
over Asia and Africa, as well as the tropical parts of Ame-
rica, is described by our divine poet with great exactness :

The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd,
But such as at this day to Indians known
In Malabar and Decan, spreads her arms,

BOOK forms of some, and the surprising beauty of
 others of the inferior animals which possessed
 and peopled them. Although these will be
 more fully described in the sequel, a few ob-
 servations which at present occur to me will, I
 hope, be forgiven. If it be true, as it hath been
 asserted, that in most of the regions of the torrid
 zone, the heat of the sun is, as it were, reflected
 in the untameable fierceness of their wild beasts,
 and in the exalted rage and venom of the nu-
 merous serpents with which they are infested, the
 Sovereign Disposer of all things has regarded
 the islands of the West Indies with peculiar fa-

Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
 The bearded twigs take root, and daughters grow
 Above the mother tree, a pillar'd shade,
 High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between!

Paradise Lost, Book IX.

And with still greater precision by *Quintus Curtius* (who, in
 this instance at least, is not fabulous): *Sylvæ erant prope
 immensum spatium diffusæ, procerisque et in eximiam altitu-
 dinem editis arboribus umbrosæ. Plerique rami instar in-
 gentium stipitum flexi in humum, rursus, qua se curvaverunt
 erigebantur, adeo ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed
 arboris ex sua radice generatæ.* It is called in the East
 Indies the *banyan-tree*. Mr. Marsden gives the following
 account of the dimensions of one, near Manjee, twenty
 miles west of Patna in Bengal: diameter, 363 to 375 feet;
 circumference of the shadow at noon, 1116 feet; circum-
 ference of the several stems, in number fifty or sixty, 981
 feet.—*Hist. Sumatra*, p. 131.

vour; inasmuch as their serpents are wholly
 destitute of poison,* and they possess no animal
 of prey, to desolate their vallies. The croco-

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* I say this on the authority of Brown, Charlevoix, and Hughes (of whom the first compiled the History of Jamaica, the second that of Hispaniola, and the last that of Barbadoes) —on the testimony of many gentlemen who have resided in several of the Windward Islands—and on my own experience during a residence of eighteen years in Jamaica. In that time I neither knew nor heard of any person being hurt from the bite of any one species of the numerous snakes or lizards known in that island. Some of the snakes I have myself handled with perfect security. I conclude, therefore, (notwithstanding the contrary assertion of Du Tertre respecting Martinico and St. Lucia) that *all* the Islands are providentially exempted from this evil. Nevertheless it must be admitted, that the circumstance is extraordinary; inasmuch as every part of the continent of America, but especially those provinces which lie under the equator, abound in a high degree with serpents, whose bite is mortal.—Dr. Bancroft, in his Account of Guiana, gives a dreadful list of such as are found in that extensive country; and, in speaking of one, of a species which he calls the small *labarra*, makes mention of a negro who was unfortunately bit by it in the finger. The negro had but just time to kill the snake, when his limbs became unable to support him, and he fell to the ground, and expired in less than five minutes.—Dr. Dancer, in his History of the Expedition from Jamaica to Fort Juan on the Lake of Nicaragua, in 1780, which he attended as physician, relates the following circumstance: A snake hanging from the bough of a tree bit one of the soldiers, as he passed along, just under the orbit of the left eye; from whence the poor man felt such intense pain that he was unable to proceed:

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dile, or alligator, is indeed sometimes discovered on the banks of their rivers ; but notwithstanding all that has been said of its fierce and savage disposition, I pronounce it, from my own knowledge, a cautious and timid creature, avoiding with the utmost precipitation the approach of man. The rest of the lizard kind are perfectly innocent and inoffensive. Some of them are even fond of human society. They embellish our walks by their beauty, and court our attention by gentleness and frolic ; but their kindness, I know not why, is returned by aversion and disgust. Anciently the woods of almost all the equatorial parts of America abounded with various tribes of the smaller monkey, a sportive and sagacious little creature, which the people of Europe seem likewise to have regarded with unmerited detestation ; for they hunted them down with such barbarous assiduity, that in several of the islands every species of them has been long since exterminated. Of the feathered

and when a messenger was sent to him a few hours afterwards, he was found dead, with all the symptoms of putrefaction, a yellowness and swelling over his whole body ; and the eye near to which he was bitten wholly dissolved. This circumstance was confirmed to me by General Kemble, who commanded in chief on that expedition. It may not be useless to add, that those serpents which are venomous are furnished with fangs somewhat resembling the tusks of a boar : they are moveable, and inserted in the upper jaw.

race too, many tribes have now nearly deserted those shores where polished man delights in spreading universal and capricious destruction. Among these, one of the most remarkable was the flamingo, an elegant and princely bird, nearly as large as the swan, and arrayed in plumage of the brightest scarlet. Numerous, however, are the feathered kind, deservedly distinguished by their splendour and beauty, that still animate these sylvan recesses. The parrot, and its various affinities, from the maccaw to the parroquet, some of them not larger than a sparrow, are too well known to require description. These are as plentiful in the larger islands of the West Indies as the rook is in Europe. But the boast of American groves is doubtless the colibry, or humming bird; of the brilliance of whose plumage no combination of words, nor tints of the pencil, can convey an adequate idea. The consummate green of the emerald, the rich purple of the amethyst, and the vivid flame of the ruby, all happily blended and enveloped beneath a transparent veil of waving gold, are distinguishable in every species, but differently arranged and apportioned in each. Nor is the minuteness of its form less the object of admiration than the lustre of its plumage; the smallest species not exceeding the size of a beetle, and appearing the link which connects the bird and insect creation.

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It has been observed, however, that although nature is profuse of ornament to the birds of the torrid zone, she has bestowed far greater powers of melody on those of Europe; and the observation is partly true. That prodigality and variety of music which in the vernal season enlivens the British groves, is certainly unknown to the shades of the tropical regions; yet are not these altogether silent or inharmonious. The note of the mockbird is deservedly celebrated, while the hum of myriads of busy insects, and the plaintive melody of the innumerable variety of doves abounding in these climates, form a concert, which, if it serves not to awaken the fancy, contributes at least to sooth the affections, and, like the murmuring of a rivulet, gives harmony to repose.

Mountains.

But, resigning to the naturalist the task of minutely describing the splendid aerial tribes of these regions, whose variety is not less remarkable than their beauty, I now return from these the smallest and most pleasing forms of active life, to the largest and most awful objects of inanimate nature. The transition is abrupt; but it is in the magnitude, extent, and elevation of the mountains of the New World, that the Almighty has most strikingly manifested the wonders of his omnipotence. Those of South America are supposed to be nearly twice the height of the highest in the ancient hemisphere,


and even under the equator, have their tops in-
volved in everlasting snow. To those massive
piles, the loftiest summits of the most elevated of
the West Indian Islands cannot indeed be com-
pared ; but some of these rise, nevertheless, in
amazing grandeur, and are among the first objects
that fix the attention of the voyager. The moun-
tains of Hispaniola in particular, whose wavy
ridges are descried from sea at the distance of
thirty leagues, towering far above the clouds in
stupendous magnificence, and the blue moun-
tains of Jamaica, have never yet, that I have
heard, been fully explored. Neither curiosity
nor avarice has hitherto ventured to invade the
topmost of those lofty regions. In such of them
as are accessible, nature is found to have put on
the appearance of a new creation. As the cli-
mate changes, the trees, the birds, and the in-
sects are seen also to differ from those which are
met with below. To an unaccustomed spectator,
looking down from those heights, the whole
scene appears like enchantment. The first ob-
ject which catches the eye at the dawn of day,
is a vast expanse of vapour, covering the whole
face of the vallies. Its boundaries being per-
fectly distinct and visibly circumscribed, it has
the exact resemblance of an immense body of
water ; whilst the mountains appear like so many
islands in the midst of a most beautiful lake.

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As the sun increases in force, the prospect varies: the incumbent vapours fly upward, and melt into air; disclosing all the beauties of nature, and the triumphs of industry, heightened and embellished by the full blaze of a tropical sun. In the equatorial season, scenes of still greater magnificence frequently present themselves; for, while all is calm and serene in the higher regions, the clouds are seen below sweeping along the sides of the mountains in vast bodies; until growing more ponderous by accumulation, they fall at length in torrents of water on the plains. The sound of the tempest is distinctly heard by the spectator above; the distant lightning is seen to irradiate the gloom; while the thunder, reverberated in a thousand echoes, rolls far beneath his feet.

Reflections,
&c.

But, lofty as the tropical mountains generally are, it is wonderfully true, that all the known parts of their summits furnish incontestible evidence that the sea had once dominion over them. Even their appearance at a distance affords an argument in support of this conclusion. Their ridges resemble billows, and their various inequalities, inflexions, and convexities, seem justly ascribable to the fluctuations of the deep. As in other countries too, marine shells are found in great abundance in various parts of these heights. I have seen on a mountain in the in-

terior parts of Jamaica petrified oysters dug up, CHAP.
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 which perfectly resembled, in the most minute 
 circumstances, the large oysters of the western
 coast of England; a species not to be found
 at this time, I believe, in the seas of the West
 Indies. Here then is an ample field for con-
 jecture to expatiate in; and indeed few subjects
 have afforded greater exercise to the pens of
 physical writers, than the appearances I have
 mentioned. While some philosophers assign the
 origin of all the various inequalities of the earth
 to the ravages of the deluge, others, considering
 the mountains as the parents of springs and
 rivers, maintain that they are coeval with the
 world; and that first emerging from the abyss,
 they were created with it. Some again ascribe
 them to the force of volcanos and earthquakes:
 "The Almighty," say they, "while he permits
 subterranean fires to swallow up cities and plains
 in one part of the globe, causes them to produce
 promontories and islands in another, which after-
 wards become the fruitful seats of industry and
 happiness."*

All these and other theorists concur, however,
 in the belief that the surface of the globe has
 undergone many surprising and violent con-
 vulsions and changes since it first came from the
 hands of the Creator. Hills have sunk into
 plains, and vallies have been exalted into hills.

* Goldsmith's History of the Earth, &c. vol. i.

BOOK
I.
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Respecting the numerous islands of the West Indies, they are generally considered as the tops of lofty mountains, the eminences of a great continent, converted into islands by a tremendous concussion of nature, which, increasing the natural course of the ocean from East to West, has laid a vast extent of level country under water.\*

But, notwithstanding all that has been written on this subject, very little seems to be known. The advocates of this system do not sufficiently consider, that the sea could not have covered so large a portion of land on one side of the globe, without leaving an immense space as suddenly dry on the other. We have no record in history of so mighty a revolution, nor indeed are many of the premises on which this hypothesis is built, established in truth.

Origin.

Perhaps, instead of considering these islands as the fragments of a desolated continent, we ought rather to regard them as the rudiments of a new one. It is extremely probable, that many of them, even now, are but beginning to emerge from the bosom of the deep. Mr. Buffon has shewn, by incontrovertible evidence, that the bottom of the sea bears an exact resemblance to the land which we inhabit; consisting, like the earth, of hills and vallies, plains and hol-

\* See L'Abbé Raynal, L'Abbé Pluche, and others.

lows, rocks, sands and soils of every consistence and species. To the motion of the waves, and the sediments which they have deposited, he imputes too with great probability, the regular positions of the various strata or layers which compose the upper parts of the earth; and he shews that this arrangement cannot have been the effect of a sudden revolution, but of causes slow, gradual, and successive in their operations. To the flow of tides and rivers, depositing materials which have been accumulating ever since the creation, and the various fluctuations of the deep operating thereon, he ascribes, therefore, most of those inequalities in the present appearance of the globe which in some parts embellish, and in others (to our limited view at least) deface it.

Pursuing this train of thought, we may be led perhaps to consider many of the most terrifying appearances of nature, as necessary and propitious in the formation and support of the system of the world; and even in volcanos and earthquakes (of which most of these islands bear evident memorials) we may trace the stupendous agency of Divine Providence, employed, as mankind increase in numbers, in raising up from the bottom of the deep new portions of land for their habitations and comfort.

These considerations are founded in piety, and seem consonant to reason; and although in

BOOK  
I.

contemplating the tremendous phenomena which the mountains of South America, beyond all other parts of the globe, present to our notice,\* and reflecting on the devastations which they spread, human reason will sometimes find itself perplexed and dismayed, may we not by analogy conclude, that the Almighty, uniform in his purposes, is equally wise and benevolent in all his dispensations, though the scale on which he acts is sometimes too large for the span of our limited and feeble comprehension? They who seem best qualified to contemplate the works of the Deity, will most readily acknowledge that it is not for man to unfold the page of Omnipotence. Happy if to conscious ignorance we add humble adoration.

\* Of all the parts of the earth America is the place where the dreadful irregularities of nature are the most conspicuous. Vesuvius, and Etna itself, are but mere fireworks in comparison to the burning mountains of the Andes, which, as they are the highest mountains in the world, so also are they the most formidable for their eruptions."—*Goldsmith's History of the Earth, &c.* vol. i. p. 99.

It is related, that a volcanic explosion from *Cotopari*, a mountain in the province of Quito, has been heard at the distance of 150 miles.

## CHAPTER II.

*Of the Charaibes, or ancient Inhabitants of the Windward Islands.—Origin.—Difficulties attending an accurate investigation of their character.—Such particulars related as are least disputed, concerning their manners and dispositions, persons and domestic habits, education of their children, arts, manufactures and government, religious rites, funeral ceremonies, &c.—Some reflections drawn from the whole.*

HAVING thus given an account of the climate and seasons, and endeavoured to convey to the reader some faint idea of the beauty and magnificence with which the hand of Nature arrayed the surface of these numerous Islands, I shall now proceed to inquire after those inhabitants to whose support and conveniency they were chiefly found subservient when they first came to the knowledge of Europe.

CHAP.  
II.

It hath been observed in the preceding chapter that Columbus, on his first arrival at Hispaniola, received information of a barbarous and warlike people, a nation of Cannibals, who frequently made depredations on that, and the neighbouring Islands. They were called Caribbees, or Cha-

**BOOK** raibes, and were represented as coming from the  
**I.** East. Columbus, in his second voyage, discovered that they were the inhabitants of the Windward Islands.

The great difference in language and character between these savages and the inhabitants of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico, hath given birth to an opinion that their origin also was different. Of this there seems indeed to be but little doubt; but the question from whence each class of Islands was first peopled is of more difficult solution. Rochefort, who published his account of the Antilles in 1658, pronounces the Charaibes to have been originally a nation of Florida, in North America. He supposes that a colony of the Apalachian Indians having been driven from that continent, arrived at the Windward Islands, and exterminating the ancient male inhabitants, took possession of their lands and their women. Of the larger islands he presumes that the natural strength, extent and population, affording security to the natives, these happily escaped the destruction which overtook their unfortunate neighbours; and thus arose the distinction observable between the inhabitants of the larger and smaller islands.\*

\* Rochefort *Histoire des Isles Antilles*, liv. ii. c. vii. See also, P. Labat *nouveau Voyage aux Isles de L'Amerique*, tom. iv. c. xv.

To this account of the origin of the Insular Charaibes, the generality of historians have given their assent; but there are doubts attending it that are not easily solved. If they migrated from Florida, the imperfect state and natural course of their navigation induce a belief that traces of them would have been found on those islands which are near to the Florida shore; yet the natives of the Bahamas, when discovered by Columbus, were evidently a similar people to those of Hispaniola.\* Besides, it is sufficiently known that there existed anciently many numerous and powerful tribes of Charaibes on the southern Peninsula, extending from the river Oronoko to Essequibe, and throughout the whole province of Surinam, even to Brasil; some of which still maintain their independency. It was with one of those tribes that our countryman Sir Walter Raleigh formed an alliance, when that commander made his romantic expedition to the coast of Guiana in 1595;† and by him we are assured that the Charaibes of that part of the Continent spoke the language of Dominica.‡ I incline therefore to the opinion of Martyr,§ and conclude that the islanders

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II.

\* Herrera, lib. ix. chap. ii.

† Bancroft's History of Guiana, p. 359.

‡ Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 668.

§ P. Martyr, Decad. 8. lib. i.

BOOK I. were rather a colony from the Charaibes of South America than from any nation of the North. Rochefort admits that their own traditions referred constantly to Guiana.\* It does not appear that they entertained the most remote idea of a Northern ancestry.

It may be thought, perhaps, that the Continental Charaibes were themselves emigrants from the Northern to the Southern Peninsula: but without attempting to controvert the position to which recent discoveries seem indeed to have given a full confirmation, namely, that the Asiatic Continent first furnished inhabitants to the contiguous North-Wertern parts of America, I conceive the Charaibes to have been a distinct race, widely differing from all the nations of the New Hemisphere; and I am even inclined to adopt the opinion of Hornius and other writers, who ascribe to them an oriental ancestry from across the Atlantic.†


Inquiries however into the origin of a re-

\* Rochefort, liv ii. c. vii. See also, Note 94 to Dr. Robertson's History of America. The people called *Galibis*, mentioned by Dr. R. are the Charaibes of the Continent, the term *Galibis* or *Calibis* (as it is written by Du Tertre) being, as I conceive, corrupted from *Caribbee*. Vide Lafitau, tom. i. p. 297, and Du Tertre, tom. ii. 360.

† Some arguments in support of this opinion are subjoined in the Appendix to Book I.


mote and unlettered race, can be prosecuted with success only by comparing their ancient manners, laws, language, and religious ceremonies with those of other nations. Unfortunately, in all or most of those particulars respecting the Charaibes, our knowledge is limited within a narrow circle. Of a people engaged in perpetual warfare, hunted from island to island by revenge and rapacity, few opportunities could have offered, even to those who might have been qualified for such researches, of investigating the natural dispositions and habitual customs with minuteness and precision. Neither indeed could a just estimate have been formed of their national character, from the manners of such of them as were at length subjugated to the European yoke; for they lost, together with their freedom, many of their original characteristics; and at last even the desire of acting from the impulse of their own minds. We discern, says Rochefort,\* a wonderful change in the dispositions and habits of the Charaibes. In some respects we have enlightened; in others (to our shame be it spoken) we have corrupted them. An old Charaibe thus addressed one of our planters, on this subject:—“Our people,” he complained, “are become almost as bad as yours.—We are so much altered since you came among us that we

\* Rochefort, liv. ii. chap. ix. p. 436.

BOOK I.  “hardly know ourselves, and we think it is  
 “owing to so melancholy a change that hur-  
 “ricanes are more frequent than they were  
 “formerly. It is the evil spirit who has done  
 “all this,—who has taken our best lands from  
 “us, and given us up to the dominion of the  
 “Christians.”\*

My present investigation must therefore be necessarily defective. Nevertheless, by selecting and combining such memorials as are least controverted, I shall hope to exhibit a few striking particulars in the character of this ill-fated people, which, if I mistake not, will lead to some important conclusions in the study of human nature.

\* This extract from Rochefort is surely a sufficient answer to the observations of Mons. du Chanvalon who wrote so late as 1751 ; and, judging of all the Charaibes from the few with whom he had any communication, represents them as not possessing any sagacity or foresight beyond mere animal instinct. He makes no allowances for *their* degradation in a state of captivity and servitude, although in another part of this book, speaking of the African blacks in the West Indies, he dwells strongly on this circumstance respecting the latter. “Peut-on con-  
 “noître (he observes) le vrai génie d’un peuple opprimé,  
 “qui voit sans cesse les chatimens levés sur sa tête, et la  
 “violence toujours prête à être soutenue par la politique  
 “et la sûreté publique ? Peut-on juger de la valeur,  
 “quand elle est enchaînée, et sans armes ?”—*Voyage à la Martinique*, p. 58.

Their fierce spirit and warlike disposition CHAP.  
II.  
have already been mentioned. Historians have   
not failed to notice these among the most distinguishable of their qualities.\*—Restless, enterprising and ardent, it would seem they considered war as the chief end of their creation, and the rest of the human race as their natural prey; for they devoured without remorse the bodies of such of their enemies (the men at least) as fell into their hands.—This custom is so repugnant to our feelings, that for a century past, until the late discoveries of a similar practice in the countries of the Pacific Ocean, the philosophers of Europe had boldly impeached

\* Dr. Robertson, in note 93 to the first vol. of his History of America, quotes from a MS. History of Ferdinand and Isabella, written by Andrew Bernaldes, the contemporary and friend of Columbus, the following instance of the bravery of the Charaibes. “A canoe with four  
“ men, two women, and a boy, unexpectedly fell in with  
“ Columbus’s fleet. A Spanish bark with 25 men was  
“ sent to take them, and the fleet in the mean time cut off  
“ their communication with the shore. Instead of giving  
“ way to despair, the Charaibes seized their arms with  
“ undaunted resolution, and began the attack, wounding  
“ several of the Spaniards although they had targets as  
“ well as other defensive armour, and even after the canoe  
“ was upset, it was with no little difficulty and danger  
“ that some of them were secured, as they continued to  
“ defend themselves, and to use their bows with great  
“ dexterity while swimming in the sea.”—Herrera has recorded the same anecdote.

**BOOK** <sup>I.</sup> the veracity of the most eminent ancient voyagers who had first recorded the existence of it. Even Labat, who resided in the West Indies at a period when some of the islands still remained in possession of the Charaibes, declares it to be his opinion that instances of this abominable practice among them were at all times extremely rare;—the effect only of a sudden impulse of revenge arising from extraordinary and unprovoked injury; but that they ever made premeditated excursions to the larger islands for the purpose of devouring any of the inhabitants, or of seizing them to be eaten at a future time, he very confidently denies.\*

Nevertheless there is no circumstance in the history of mankind better attested than the universal prevalence of these practices among them. Columbus was not only informed of it by the natives of Hispaniola, as I have already related, but having landed himself at Guadaloupe on its first discovery,† he beheld in several cottages the head and limbs of the human body recently separated, and evidently kept for occasional repasts. He released, at the same time, several of the natives of Porto Rico, who, having been

\* Labat, tom. iv. p. 322.

† November 4, 1493.

brought captives from thence, were reserved as victims for the same horrid purpose.\*

CHAP.  
II.

Thus far, it must be confessed, the disposition of the Charaibes leaves no very favourable impression on the mind of the reader; by whom it is probable they will be considered rather as beasts of prey than as human beings; and he will think, perhaps, that it was nearly as justifiable to exterminate them from the earth, as it would be to destroy the fiercest monsters of the wilderness; since they who shew no mercy are entitled to no pity.

But among themselves they were peaceable, and towards each other faithful, friendly, and affectionate.† They considered all strangers, indeed, as enemies: and of the people of Europe they formed a right estimation. The antipathy which they manifested towards the unoffending natives of the larger islands appears extraordinary; but it is said to have descended to them from their ancestors of Guiana: they considered those islanders as a colony of Arowauks, a nation

\* R. Columbus, cap. xlv. Peter Martyr, Decad. I. lib. ii. Herrera, lib. ii. cap. vii. See also Bancroft's History of Guiana, p. 259, who is of opinion that no other tribe of Indians in Guiana eat human flesh but the Charaibes. Amongst these, the proof that this practice still subsists is incontestable.

† Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xi. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 359.

BOOK <sup>I.</sup> of South America, with whom the Charaibes of that continent are continually at war.\* We can assign no cause for such hereditary and irreconcilable hostility. With regard to the people of Europe, it is allowed that, whenever any of them had acquired their confidence, it was given without reserve. Their friendship was as warm as their enmity was implacable. The Charaibes of Guiana still fondly cherish the tradition of Raleigh's alliance, and to this day preserve the English colours which he left with them at parting.†

Of the loftiness of their sentiments and their abhorrence of slavery, a writer, not very partial towards them gives the following illustration :  
 “ There is not a nation on earth (says Labat)‡  
 “ more jealous of their independency than the  
 “ Charaibes. They are impatient under the  
 “ least infringement of it; and when, at any  
 “ time, they are witnesses to the respect and de-  
 “ ference which the natives of Europe observe  
 “ towards their superiors, they despise us as ab-  
 “ ject slaves; wondering how any man can be  
 “ so base as to crouch before his equal.” Rochefort, who confirms this account, relates also that when kidnapped and carried from their native

\* Rochefort, liv. ii. chap. x. p. 449.

† Bancroft, p. 259.

‡ Labat, tom. iv. p. 329.

islands into slavery, as they frequently were, the miserable captives commonly sunk under a sense of their misfortune, and finding resistance and escape hopeless, sought refuge in death from the calamities of their condition\*.

CHAP.  
II.

To this principle of conscious equality and native dignity, must be imputed the contempt which they manifested for the inventions and improvements of civilized life. Of our fire-arms they soon learnt, by fatal experience, the superiority to their own weapons; and those therefore they valued; but our arts and manufactures they regarded as we regard the amusements and baubles of children:—hence the propensity to theft, so common among other savage nations, was altogether unknown to the Charaibes.

The ardour which has been noticed in them for military enterprize had a powerful influence on their whole conduct. Engaged in continual warfare abroad, they seldom appeared cheerful at home. Reflections on past miscarriage, or anxious schemes of future achievement, seemed to fill up many of their hours, and rendered

\* Rochefort, liv. ii. cap. xi. Labat relates that the following sentiment was proverbial among the first French settlers in the Windward Islands:—*Regarder de travers un Charaibe, c'est le battre, et que de le battre c'est le tuer, ou s'exposer à en être tué.* Labat, tom. ii. p. 74.

BOOK them habitually thoughtful, pensive and silent.\*

<sup>L</sup> Love itself, which exerts its influence in the frozen deserts of Iceland, maintained but a feeble dominion over the Charaibes.† Their insensibility towards their women, although they allowed a plurality of wives,‡ has been remarked by many writers; and it must have arisen from extrinsic causes; from the predominance of passions strong enough to counteract the effects of a climate which powerfully disposes to voluptuousness, and awakens the instincts of nature much sooner than colder regions. The prevailing bias of their minds was distinguishable even in their persons. Though not so tall as the generality of Europeans, their frame was robust and muscular; their limbs flexible and active; and there was a penetrating quickness, and a wildness in their eyes, that seemed an emanation from a fierce and martial spirit.§ But, not satisfied with the workmanship of Nature, they called in the assistance of art to make themselves more formidable. They painted their

\* Du Tertre, tom. ii.

† Rochefort, c. xi.

‡ Ibid. c. xxii.

§ Oviedo, lib. iii. This agrees likewise with the Chevalier Pinto's account of the Brasilians in note 42 to vol. i. of Dr. Robertson's History. "At the first aspect a Southern American appears to be mild and innocent, but, on a more attentive view, one discovers in his countenance something wild, distrustful and sullen."

faces and bodies with arnotto so extravagantly, CHAP.  
 that their natural complexion, which was nearly IL  
 that of a Spanish olive, was not easily to be  
 distinguished under the surface of crimson.\*  
 However, as this mode of painting themselves  
 was practised by both sexes, perhaps it was at  
 first introduced as a defence against the veno-  
 mous insects so common in tropical climates, or  
 possibly they considered the brilliancy of the  
 colour as highly ornamental; but the men had  
 other methods of deforming their persons, which  
 mere perversion of taste alone would not, I  
 think, have induced them to adopt. They dis-  
 figured their cheeks with deep incisions and  
 hideous scars, which they stained with black, and  
 they painted white and black circles round their  
 eyes. Some of them perforated the cartilage  
 that divides the nostrils, and inserted the bone  
 of some fish, a parrot's feather, or a fragment  
 of tortoise-shell,†—a frightful custom, practised  
 also by the natives of New Holland,‡ and they  
 strung together the teeth of such of their ene-  
 mies as they had slain in battle, and wore them  
 on their legs and arms, as trophies of successful  
 cruelty.§

\* Rochefort, lib. ii. c. ix. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 539.

† Rochefort, liv. ii. c. ix. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1157.

De Tertre, tom. ii. p. 391, 393.

‡ Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 171.

§ Gumilla, tom. i. p. 198.

BOOK  
I.

~~~~~ To draw the bow with unerring skill, to wield the club with dexterity and strength, to swim with agility and boldness, to catch fish and to build a cottage, were acquirements of indispensable necessity, and the education of their children was well suited to the attainment of them. One method of making their boys skilful, even in infancy, in the exercise of the bow, was to suspend their food on the branch of a tree, compelling the hardy urchins to pierce it with their arrows, before they could obtain permission to eat.\* But these were subordinate objects :—the Charaibes instructed their youth, at the same time, in lessons of patience and fortitude; they endeavoured to inspire them with

* See Rochefort, c. xxviii. p. 555, and Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 283. Their arrows were commonly poisoned, except when they made their military excursions by night. On those occasions they converted them into instruments of still greater mischief, for by arming the points with pledgets of cotton dipt into oil, and set on flame, they fired whole villages of their enemies at a distance.* The poison which they used was a concoction of noxious gums and vegetable juices, † and had the property of being perfectly innocent when received into the stomach, but if communicated immediately to the blood, through the slightest wound, it was generally mortal. The Indians of Guiana still prepare a similar poison. It is supposed, however, that sugar speedily administered in large quantities is an antidote. (See *Relation Abrégée d'un Voyage, &c. par Mons. de la Condamine*; and Bancroft's *Hist. of Guiana*.)

* Rochefort, ch. xx. p. 559.

† Oviedo, lib. iii.

courage in war, and a contempt of danger and death ;—above all things, to instil into their minds an hereditary hatred, and implacable thirst of revenge towards the Arrowauks. The means which they adopted for these purposes were in some respects superstitious ; in others cruel and detestable.

CHAP.
II.

As soon as a male child was brought into the world, he was sprinkled with some drops of his father's blood. The ceremonies used on this occasion were sufficiently painful to the father, but he submitted without emotion or complaint ; fondly believing, that the same degree of courage which he had himself displayed, was by these means transmitted to his son.* As the boy grew, he was soon made familiar with scenes of barbarity ; he partook of the horrid repasts of his nation, and he was frequently anointed with the fat of a slaughtered Arrowauk ; but he was not allowed to participate in the toils of the warrior, and to share the glories of conquest, until his fortitude had been brought to the test. The dawn of manhood ushered in the hour of severe trial. He was now to exchange the name he had received in his infancy, for one more sounding and significant ;—a ceremony of high importance in the life of a Charaibe, but always

* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxv. p. 552.

BOOK I accompanied by a scene of ferocious festivity and unnatural cruelty.*

The severities inflicted on such occasions by the hands of fathers on their own children, exhibit a melancholy proof of the influence of superstition in suppressing the most powerful feelings of nature; but the practice was not without example. Plutarch records the prevalence of a similar custom among the Lacedemonians. "At Sparta," says the historian, "boys are whipped for a whole day, oftentimes to death, before the altar of Diana, and there is a wonderful emulation among them who best can sustain the greatest number of stripes." Nor did the Charaibe youth yield in fortitude to the Spartan. If the severities he sustained extorted the least symptom of weakness from the young sufferer, he was disgraced for ever; but if he rose superior to pain, and baffled the rage of his persecutors, by perseverance and serenity, he received the highest applause. He was thenceforth numbered among the defenders of his country, and it was pronounced by his relations and countrymen, *that he was now a man like one of themselves.*

A penance still more severe, and torments more excruciating; stripes, burning and suffo-


* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxiii. p. 556. Du Tertre, vol. ii. p. 377.

cation, constituted a test for him who aspired to the honour of leading forth his countrymen to war*; for in times of peace the Charaibes admitted of no supremacy but that of nature. Having no laws, they needed no magistrates. To their old men indeed they allowed some kind of authority, but it was at best ill-defined, and must at all times have been insufficient to protect the weak against the strong.—In war, experience had taught them that subordination was as requisite as courage; they therefore elected their captains in their general assemblies with great solemnity†; but, as hath been observed, they put their pretensions to the proof with circumstances of outrageous barbarity:—the recital however is disgusting, and may well be suppressed.

If it appears strange that where so little was to be gained by preeminence, so much should be endured to obtain it, it must be considered that, in the estimation of the candidate, the reward was doubtless more than adequate to the cost of the purchase. If success attended his measures, the feast and the triumph awaited his return. He exchanged his name a second time;

* Rochefort, lib. ii. cap. xix. p. 519. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1262. Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 286. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 297, et. seq.

† Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

BOOK assuming in future that of the most formidable
I.  Arrowauk that had fallen by his hand*. He was permitted to appropriate to himself as many of the captives as he thought fit, and his countrymen presented to his choice the most beautiful of their daughters in reward of his valour†.

It was probably this last-mentioned testimony of public esteem and gratitude that gave rise in these islands to the institution of polygamy, which, as hath been already observed, prevailed universally among them, and still prevails among the Charaibes of South America‡;—an institution the more excusable, as their women, from religious motives, carefully avoided the nuptial intercourse after pregnancy§. I am sorry to add, that the condition of these poor creatures was at the same time truly wretched. Though frequently bestowed as the prize of successful courage, the wife, thus honourably obtained, was soon considered of as little value as the captive. Deficient in those qualities which alone were estimable among the Charaibes, the females were treated rather as slaves than companions.— They sustained every species of drudgery: they ground

* Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 553.

† Rochefort, ch. xxiii. p. 546.

‡ Bancroft, p. 254.

§ Rochefort, ch. xxii. p. 548. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 374.

the maze, prepared the cassavi, gathered in the cotton and wove the hamack*; nor were they allowed even the privilege of eating in presence of their husbands†. Under these circumstances, it is not wonderful that they were less prolific than the women of Europe‡. But brutality towards their wives was not peculiar to the Charaibes. It has prevailed in all ages and countries among the uncivilized part of mankind; and the first visible proof that a people is emerging from savage manners, is a display of tenderness towards the female sex§.

CHAP.
II.

* Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1272. Labat, tom. ii. p. 40.

† Labat, tom. ii. p. 15 and 95.

‡ Lafitau, tom. i. p. 590.

§ Father Joseph Gumilla, in his account of the nations bordering on the Oronoko, relates (tom. i. p. 207. Fr. translation) that the Charaibes of the Continent punish their women caught in adultery, like the ancient Israelites, “by stoning them to death before an assembly of the people:” but I do not find this fact recorded by any other writer; and as it is evidently brought forward to support the author’s hypothesis, that the Americans are originally descended from the Jews, I suspect that it is not well founded:—at least there is no trace that such a custom existed among the insular Charaibes. Rochefort, speaking of the latter, observes, that before they had any intercourse with the Christians they had no established punishment for adultery, because (says he) “the crime itself was unknown.”—He adds, that when this, with other European vices, was introduced among them, the injured husband became his own avenger.—Labat’s rea-

BOOK
I.
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Perhaps a more intimate knowledge (not now to be obtained) would have softened many of the shades which thus darken the character of these islanders, and have discovered some latent properties in their principles and conduct, tending to lessen, though not wholly to remove, the disgust we naturally feel in beholding human nature so debased and degraded ; but of many particulars wherein curiosity would desire to be gratified, we have no account. We know but little, for instance, concerning their domestic economy, their arts, manufactures, and agriculture ; their sense of filial and paternal obligations ; their religious rites and funeral ceremonies. Such further information however, in these and other respects, as authorities the least disputable afford, I have abridged in the following detached observations.

Besides the ornaments which we noticed to have been worn by both sexes, the women, on arriving at the age of puberty, were distinguished

soning on this head is too curious to be omitted : “ Il n’y  
“ a que les femmes qui soient obligées à l’obéissance, et  
“ dont les hommes soient absolument maîtres. Ils portent  
“ cette supériorité jusqu’à l’excès, et les tuent pour des  
“ sujets très-légers. Un soupçon d’infidélité, bien ou mal  
“ fondé, suffit, sans autre formalité, pour les mettre en  
“ droit de leur casser la tête. *Cela est un peu sauvage à la*  
“ *vérité ; mais c’est un frein bien propre pour retenir les*  
“ *femmes dans leur devoir.*” Tom. iv. p. 327.

also by a sort of buskin or half-boot, made of cotton, which surrounded the small part of the leg\*. A distinction, however, to which such of their females as had been taken in the chance of war, dared not aspire†. In other respects both male and female appeared as naked as our first parents before the fall‡. Like them, as they knew no guilt, they knew no shame; nor was clothing thought necessary for personal comfort, where the chill blast of winter is never felt.

Their hair was uniformly of a shining black, straight and coarse; but they dressed it with daily care, and adorned it with great art; the men, in particular, decorating their heads with feathers of various colours. As their hair thus constituted their chief pride, it was an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of their sorrow, when, on the death of a relation or friend, they cut it short like their slaves and captives§; to whom the privilege of wearing long hair was rigorously

\* Rochefort, lib. ii. c. ix. p. 446. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1159. Labat, tom. ii. p. 12. The same sort of *brodequin*, or buskin, is worn by the female Hottentots and other nations of Africa.

† Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 394.

‡ Rochefort, lib. ii. c. ix. p. 441. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1157.

§ Rochefort, lib. ii. c. ix. p. 439. Du Tertre, tom. ii p. 412.

BOOK I. denied\*. Like most other nations of the New Hemisphere, they eradicated, with great nicety, the incipient beard†, and all superfluous hairs on their bodies ;—a circumstance which has given rise to a notion that all the Aborigines of America were naturally beardless. This opinion is indeed countenanced by many respectable writers, but after much inquiry, and some instances of ocular inspection, I am satisfied that it is groundless.


The circumstance the most remarkable concerning the persons of the Charaibes, was their strange practice of altering the natural configuration of the head. On the birth of a child, its tender and flexible skull was confined between two small pieces of wood, which, applied before and behind, and firmly bound together on each side, elevated the forehead, and occasioned it, and the back part of the skull, to resemble two sides of a square‡; an uncouth and frightful custom, still observed by the miserable remnant of red Charaibes in the Island of St. Vincent§.

\* Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 405.

† Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 392.

‡ Oviedo, lib. iii. Rochefort, lib. ii. c. ix.

§ I have been told by anatomists, that the coronal suture of new-born children in the West Indies is commonly more open than that of infants born in colder climates, and the brain more liable to external injury. Per-

They resided in villages which resembled an CHAP.  
II.  
European encampment; for their cabins were  built of poles fixed circularly in the ground, and drawn to a point at the top\*. They were then covered with leaves of the palm-tree. In the centre of each village was a building of superior magnitude to the rest. It was formed with great labour, and served as a public hall or state-house†, wherein we are assured that the men (excluding the women) had their meals in common; “observing that law” (saith the Earl of Cumberland, who visited these islands in 1506) “which in Lycurgus’s mouth was thought strange and needless‡.” These halls were also the theatres where their youth were animated to emulation, and trained to martial enterprize by the renown of their warriors, and the harangues of their orators.

Their arts and manufactures, though few, displayed a degree of ingenuity which one would have scarcely expected to find amongst a people so little removed from a state of mere animal nature, as to reject all dress as superfluous.

haps, therefore, the Indian custom of depressing the *os frontis* and the *occiput*, was originally meant to assist the operation of nature in closing the skull.

\* P. Martyr, decad. i. lib. ii.

† Ibid. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xvi. Lafitau, tom. ii. p. 8.

‡ Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1159.


BOOK  
1. Columbus observed an abundance of substantial cotton cloth in all the islands which he visited; and the natives possessed the art of staining it with various colours, though the Charibes delighted chiefly in red\*. Of this cloth they made hammocks, or hanging beds such as are now used at sea;—for Europe has not only copied the pattern, but preserved also the original name†.

They possessed likewise the art of making vessels of clay for domestic uses, which they baked in kilns like the potters of Europe. The ruins of many of these kilns were visible not long since in Barbadoes, where specimens of the manufacture are still frequently dug up; and Mr. Hughes, the historian of that island, observes, that they far surpass the earthen-ware made by the negroes, in thinness, smoothness and beauty‡. Besides those, they invented various other utensils

\* Labat, tom. ii. p. 40.

† All the early Spanish and French writers expressly assert, that the original Indian name for their swinging beds was *amack*, or *hamack*;—but Dr. Johnson derives the English word *hammock* from the Saxon.

‡ Nat. Hist. of Barbadoes, p. 8. Ligon, who visited this island in 1647, declares that some of these vessels, which he saw, even surpassed any earthen-ware made in England “both” (to use his own words) “in finesse of  
“mettle, and curiosity of turninge.”


for economical purposes, which are enumerated CHAP.  
II.  
by Labat. The baskets which they composed  of the fibres of the palmeto leaves were singularly elegant, and we are told that their bows and arrows, and other weapons, displayed a neatness and polish, which the most skilful European artist would have found it difficult to have excelled even with European tools.

Of the nature and extent of their agriculture the accounts are slender and unsatisfactory. We are told, on good authority, that among the Charaibes of the Continent there was no division of land, every one cultivating in proportion to his exigencies.\* Where no criminal jurisdiction is established, the idea of private property must necessarily be unknown or imperfect; and in these islands where land is scarce, it seems probable that, as among some of the tribes of South America,† cultivation was carried on by the joint labour of each separate community, and their harvests deposited in public granaries, whence each family received its proportion of the public stock.—Rocheport indeed observes, that all their interests were in common.

Their food, both vegetable and animal, excepting in the circumstance of their eating human flesh, seems to have been the same, in most re-

\* Bancroft, p. 254.

† Gumilla, tom. i. p. 265.

**BOOK** <sup>I.</sup>  spect, as that of the natives of the larger islands, which shall be described hereafter. But although their appetites were voracious\*, they rejected many of the best bounties of nature. Of some animals they held the flesh in abhorrence; these were the pecary, or Mexican hog, the manati, or sea cow, and the turtle†. Labat observes, that they scrupled likewise to eat the eel, which the rivers in several of the islands supply in great plenty‡.

The striking conformity of these, and some other of their prejudices and customs, to the practices of the Jews, has not escaped the notice of historians§.—But whether the Charaibes were actuated by religious motives, in thus abstaining from those things which many nations account very wholesome and delicious food, we are nowhere sufficiently informed.

It most probably was, however, the influence of superstition that gave rise to these and other ceremonies equally repugnant to the dictates of nature and common sense;—one of which appears at first extraordinary and incredible, but it is too well attested to be denied. On the

\* Gumilla, tom. ii. p. 12, 70, 237. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 515.

† Rochefort, liv. ii. c. 16.

‡ Labat, tom. iv. p. 304.

§ Gumilla, Adair, Du Tertre, and others.

birth of his first son the father retired to his bed, and fasted with a strictness that often endangered life\*. Lafitau, observing that the same custom was practised by the Tybarenians of Asia, and the Iberians or ancient inhabitants of Spain, and is still in use among the people of Japan, not only urged this circumstance as a proof, among others, that the new world was peopled from the old, but pretends to discover in it also some traces of the doctrine of original sin: he supposes that the severe penance thus voluntarily submitted to by the father, was at first instituted in the pious view of protecting his issue from the contagion of hereditary guilt; averting the wrath of offended Omnipotence at the crime of our first parents, and expiating *their* guilt by *his* sufferings†.

The ancient Thracians, as we are informed by Herodotus, when a male child was brought into the world, lamented over him in sad vaticination of his destiny, and they rejoiced when he was released by death from those miseries which they considered as his inevitable portion in life: but, whatever might have been the

\* Du Tertre, tom. ii. 371, 373. Rochefort, liv. ii. c. xxiii. p. 550. Labat, tom. iv. p. 368. Lafitau, tom. i. p. 49. Nieuhoff relates, that this practice prevails likewise among the natives of Brasil. Churchill's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 133.

† Lafitau, tom. i. p. 357.

**BOOK** motives that induced the Charaibes to do penance  
**L**  
 ~~~~~ on such occasions, it would seem that grief and  
 dejection had no great share in them ; for the
 ceremony of fasting was immediately succeeded
 by rejoicing and triumph, by drunkenness and
 debauchery. Their lamentations for the dead
 seem to have arisen from the more laudable
 dictates of genuine nature ; for, unlike the Thra-
 cians on these solemnities, they not only de-
 spoiled their hair, as we have before related,
 but when the master of the family died, the
 surviving relations, after burying the corpse in
 the centre of his own dwelling, with many de-
 monstrations of unaffected grief, quitted the
 house altogether, and erected another in a distant
 situation*.

Unfortunately, however, if now and then
 we distinguish among them some faint traces of
 rational piety, our satisfaction is of short con-
 tinuance ;

No light, but rather darkness visible,
 Serves only to discover sights of woe : MILTON.

or it is a light that glimmers for a moment, and
 then sets in blood.

It is asserted, and I believe with truth, that
 the expectation of a future state has prevailed

* Labat, tom. iv. p. 307. They placed the dead body
 in the grave in a sitting posture, with the knees to the chin.
 Lafitau, tom. ii. p. 407. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 408.

amongst all mankind, in all ages and countries CHAP. II.
 of the world. It is certain, that it prevailed among the Charaibes;* who not only believed that death was not the final extinction of their being, but pleased themselves also with the fond conceit that their departed relations were secret spectators of their conduct;—that they still sympathized in their sufferings, and participated in their welfare. To these notions, so flattering to our wishes,—perhaps congenial to our nature,—they added others of a dreadful tendency; for considering the soul as susceptible of the same impressions, and possessing the same passions, as when allied to the body, it was thought a religious duty to their deceased heroes, to sacrifice at their funerals some of the captives which had been taken in battle.† Immortality seemed a curse without military glory; they allotted to the virtuous and the brave the enjoyment of supreme felicity with their wives and their captives in a sort of Mahometan paradise. To the degenerate and the cowardly they assigned a far different portion: these they doomed to everlasting banishment beyond the mountains;—to unremitting labour, in employments that disgrace manhood;—and this dis-

* Rochefort, liv. ii. c. 14. 485. Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 372.

† Rochefort, c. xix. p. 484. Du Tertre, c. ii. p. 412. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1274.

BOOK grace they supposed would be heightened by the
I. greatest of all afflictions, captivity and servitude
 among the Arrowauks.*

It might seem that this idea of a state of retribution after death necessarily flowed from a well-founded belief in the existence of an all-wise and almighty Governor and Judge of the Universe; but we are told, notwithstanding, that the minds of the Charaibes were not elevated to this height. "They admitted," says Rochefort, "that the earth was their bountiful parent, which yielded them all the good things of life, but they were so lamentably sunk in darkness and brutality as to have formed no conception of its beneficent Creator, through the continual energy of whose divine influence alone it yields any thing. They had not even a name for the Deity."† Other writers, however, of equal authority,‡ and even the same writer elsewhere,§ present us with a different representation in this respect, and allow that the Charaibes entertained an awful sense (perplexed indeed and indistinct) of one great universal cause,—of a superior, wise, and invisible Being of absolute and irresistible power.||—Like the

* Rochefort, c. xiv. p. 485.

† Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 469.

‡ Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 364.

§ Rochefort, c. xiv.

|| The Galibis Indians, or Charaibes of South America,

ancient heathens, they admitted also the agency of subordinate divinities.—They even supposed that each individual person had his peculiar protector or tutelar deity.* Nor is it true, as affirmed by some authors, that they had no notion of practical worship; for besides the funeral ceremonies above-mentioned, which arose surely from a sense of mistaken piety, they had their lares and penates, gods of their own creating, intended as symbols probably of their invisible deities, to whom they offered sacrifices, similar to those of the ancient Romans in their days of simplicity and virtue.† It was their custom to erect in every cottage a rustic altar, composed of banana leaves and rushes, whereon

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II.

from whom I have supposed the Insular Charaibes to have been immediately descended, stiled the Supreme Being *Tamoussi*, or *Universal Father*.—Barrere.

* Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 471.

† Mr. Hughes, in his *History of Barbadoes*, makes mention of many fragments of Indian idols dug up in that island, which were composed of the same materials as their earthen vessels above-mentioned.—“ I saw the head of one,” (continues he) “ which alone weighed above sixty pounds. “ This, before it was broken off, “ stood upon an oval pedestal about three feet in height. “ The heads of all the others were very small. These “ lesser idols were in all probability their *Penates*, made “ small for the ease and conveniency of being carried “ with them in their several journeys, as the larger sort “ were perhaps designed for some stated places of “ worship.”—*Natural History of Barbadoes*, p. 7.

BOOK
 I
 ~~~~~ they occasionally placed the earliest of their fruits, and the choicest of their viands, as humble peace-offerings through the mediation of their inferior deities to incensed Omnipotence;\* for it is admitted, that their devotion consisted less in the effusions of thankfulness than in deprecations of wrath;—but herein neither were they distinguishable from the rest of mankind, either in the old world or the new. We can all forget benefits though we implore mercy. Strange however it is, that the same authors who accuse them of atheism, should accuse them likewise in the same moment of polytheism and idolatry.

Atheists they certainly were not: and although their system was not that of pure Theism, yet their idolatry was probably founded on circumstances, the moral influence of which has not hitherto, I think, been sufficiently noticed. If their devotion, as we have seen, was the offspring, not of gratitude, but of fear;—if they were less sensible of the goodness, than terrified at the judgments of the Almighty; it should be remembered, that in the climate of the West Indies the tremendous irregularities of nature are dreadfully frequent;—the hurricane that sweeps nations to the deep, and the

\* Lafitan, tom. i. p. 179. Rochefort, c. xiii. p. 478.  
 Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 366.

earthquake that swallows continents in its bosom. Let us not then hastily affix the charge of impiety on these simple people if, when they beheld the elements combine for their destruction, they considered the Divine Being as infinite indeed in power, but severe in his justice and inexorable in his anger. Under this impression, the mind, humbled to the dust in the consciousness of its own imbecility, and scarce daring to lift up a thought to the Great Cause of all things, fondly wishes for some mild and gracious interpreter; some amiable intermediate agent in whom to repose with confidence, as in a guardian and a friend. This desire increasing, is at length exalted to belief. The soul, seeking refuge from its own apprehensions, creates imaginary beings, by whose mediation it hopes to render itself less despicable in the sight of the Supreme. To these its devotions are intrusted, and its adorations paid. We may lament the blindness of these poor savages, and exult in our own superiority in this respect; but let us not forget, that in the most cultivated periods of the human understanding, (before the light of Revelation was graciously displayed) a similar superstition was practised by all the various nations of the heathen world; of which, not one perhaps had so strong an apology to plead as the Charaibes.

These observations, however, extend only to the fair side of their religion, the worship of be-

nevolent deities. A darker superstition likewise prevailed among all the unenlightened inhabitants of these climates; for they not only believed in the existence of demons and evil spirits, but offered to them also by the hands of their *Boyez*, or pretended magicians, sacrifices and worship; wounding themselves on such solemnities with an instrument made of the teeth of the agouti,\* which inflicted horrible gashes; conceiving, perhaps, that the malignant powers delighted in groans and misery, and were to be appeased only by human blood.† I am of opinion, nevertheless, that even this latter species of idolatry originated in reverential piety, and an awful sense of almighty power and infinite perfection. That we receive both good and evil at the hands of God, and that the Supreme Being is equally wise and benevolent in the dispensation of both, are truths which we are taught, as well by cultivated reason as by holy writ; but they are truths, to the right apprehension of which uncivilized man was perhaps at all times incompetent. The savage, indeed, amidst the destructive terrors of the hurricane and the earthquake, might easily conclude that nothing less than Omnipotence itself, “visiting the nations in his wrath,” could thus harrow up the world; but the calamities of daily occurrence—the various appearances of

\* See Chap. 4.

† Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 365.

physical and moral evil which hourly embitter life, he dared not ascribe to an all-perfect and merciful Being. To his limited conception such a conclusion was derogatory from divine justice, and irreconcilable with infinite wisdom. To what then would he impute these terrifying and inexplicable phenomena, but to the malignant influence of impure spirits and aerial demons? The profanations built on such notions certainly throw a light on the Christian religion, if they serve not as a collateral evidence of its divine origin.

A minute detail of the rites and ceremonies to which these and other religious tenets gave birth among the Charaibes, most of them unamiable, many of them cruel, together with an illustration of their conformity to the superstitions of the pagan theology, would lead me too far; nor is such a disquisition necessary. It is sufficient for me to have shewn, that the foundations of true religion, the belief of a Deity, and the expectation of a future state, (to borrow the expression of an eloquent prelate) "are no less conformable to the first natural apprehensions of the untutored mind, than to the soundest principles of philosophy."\*

I have thus selected and combined, from a mass of discordant materials, a few striking par-

\* Bishop of Chester's Sermons.

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I.  


particulars in the character, manners, and customs of the ancient inhabitants of the Charaibean Islands. The picture is not pleasing; but, as I have elsewhere observed, it may lead to some important conclusions; for, besides correcting many wild and extravagant fancies which are afloat in the world respecting the influence of climate on the powers of the mind, it may tend to demonstrate the absurdity of that hypothesis of some eminent philosophers, which pronounces savage life the genuine source of unpolluted happiness—falsely deeming it a state conformable to our nature, and constituting the perfection of it. It is indeed no easy task, as Rousseau observes, to discriminate properly between what is originally natural and what is acquired, in the present constitution of man: yet thus much may be concluded from the account I have given of the Charaibes; that they derived their furious and sanguinary disposition—not from the dictates of nature, but—from the perversion and abuse of some of her noblest endowments. Civilization and science would not only have given them gentler manners, but probably have eradicated also many of their barbarous rites and gloomy superstitions, either by the introduction of a pure religion, or by giving energy and effect to those latent principles, which I have shewn had a foundation among them. But while I admit the necessity and benevolent efficacy of improved

manners and social intercourse; conceiving that man by the cultivation of his reason and the exercise of his faculties, alone answers the end of his creation; I am far from concurring with another class of philosophers who, widely differing from the former, consider a state of pure nature as a state of unrelenting ferocity and reciprocal hostility; maintaining, that all the soft and tender affections are not originally implanted in us, but are superinduced by education and reflection. A retrospect to what has been related of the Charaibes will shew the fallacy of this opinion. Man, as he comes from the hands of his Creator, is every where constituted a mild and a merciful being. It was by rigid discipline and barbarous example, that the Charaibe nation trained up their youth to suffer with fortitude, and to inflict without pity the utmost exertions of human vengeance. The dictates of nature were as much violated by those enormities of savage life, as they are suppressed by the cold unfeeling apathy of philosophical resentment. To the honour of humanity, it is as certain that compassion and kindness are among the earliest propensities of our nature, as that they constitute the chief ornament and the happiness of it. Of this truth our next researches will furnish a pleasing example.

## CHAPTER III.

*Of the Natives of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico.—Their Origin.—Numbers.—Persons.—Genius and Dispositions.—Government and Religion.—Miscellaneous Observations respecting their Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture, Cruelty of the Spaniards, &c.*

CHAP.  
III.  
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I AM now to give some account of a mild and comparatively cultivated people, the ancient natives of Hispaniola,* Cuba,† Jamaica and Porto-Rico;‡ for there is no doubt that the

* *Hispaniola* was called by the natives *Haiti* or *Ayti*, which signifies mountainous; and I conceive the same word has the same meaning in the islands of the South Sea.

† *Cuba* was the Indian name. It was not discovered to be an island until the year 1508, when a captain, named Sebastian, sailed round it by order of Nicholas Ovando. It was first planted by the Spaniards in 1511; in that year Jago Velasquez went thither with 300 men, and settled on the south coast, near to a port which he called by his own name, (*Jago*, a name it still bears) and which for extent and security may be reckoned one of the finest in the world.

‡ The Indian name of *Porto-Rico* was *Boriquen*. It was discovered by Columbus in his second voyage, but first explored by Juan Ponce de Leon, in 1508.

inhabitants of all those islands were of one BOOK
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common origin—speaking the same language—possessing the same institutions, and practising similar superstitions. Columbus himself treats of them as such; and the testimony of many contemporary historians confirm his opinion. It appears likewise from the information of Las Casas, the Bishop of Chiapa, to the Emperor Charles V. that most of the natives of Trinidad* were of the same nation; the extent and natural strength of that island, as of the others above-mentioned, having protected them in a great measure from the depredations of the Charaibes.

I have elsewhere related that they were considered by these barbarians as descended from a colony of Arrowauks, a people of Guiana; and there can be no good reason to suppose that the Charaibes were misinformed in this particular.—The evidence of Raleigh, and others who visited both Guiana and Trinidad two centuries ago, might be adduced in sup-

* Trinidad was discovered by Columbus in his third voyage, and was named by him after the Holy Trinity, because, says Herrera, having been in great danger, in a violent storm, he made a vow to give that name to the first land he should find; soon after which a sailor, in the main-top, saw three points of land, whereby the name fitted every way to his vow.

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port of their opinion. These voyagers pronounce the ancient inhabitants of Trinidad to belong precisely to the Arwacks or Arrowauk nation of the continent; a race of Indians to whose noble qualities the most honourable testimony is borne by every traveller that has visited them, and recorded his observations. And here all inquiry concerning the origin of our islanders seems to terminate. It is indeed extremely probable that all the various nations of this part of the new world, except only the Charaibes, emigrated anciently from the great hive of the Mexican empire. Juan de Grijalva, one of the adventurers from Cuba in 1518, found a people who spoke the language of that island, on the coast of Yucatan;* but at what period such emigrations were made, whether the Charaibes were previously possessed of the widely extended coast that bounds the Atlantic, or, in posterior ages accidentally found their way thither by sea, from the ancient Continent—(perhaps by their invasion giving birth to that hereditary and unconquerable hatred, which still prevails between them and the other Indian nations)—these are points concerning which, as it is impossible to determine, it is in vain to inquire.

* P. Martyr, Decad. iii. lib. x.

In estimating the number of our islanders, when first discovered by Columbus, historians widely differ. Las Casas computes them at six millions in the whole ; but the natives of Hispaniola were reckoned by Oviedo at one million only, and by Martyr who wrote on the authority of Columbus, at 1,200,000, and this last account is probably the most correct. Judging of the other islands by that, and supposing the population of each to be nearly the same in proportion to its extent, the whole number will fall greatly short of the computation of Las Casas. Perhaps if we fix on three millions, instead of six, as the total, we shall approach as near the truth as possible, on a question that admits not of minute accuracy. Indeed such are the accounts of the horrible carnage of these poor people by the Spaniards, that we are naturally led to hope their original numbers must have been greatly exaggerated ; first by the associates of Columbus, from a fond and excusable propensity to magnify the merit and importance of their discoveries, as undoubtedly they were afterwards by the worthy prelate I have quoted, in the warmth of his honest indignation at the bloody proceedings of his countrymen : with whom, indeed, every man of a humane and reflecting mind must blush to confess himself of the same nature and species.

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I.



But, not to anticipate observations that will more properly appear hereafter, I shall now proceed to the consideration.—I. Of their persons and personal endowments: II. Their intellectual faculties and dispositions: III. Their political institutions: IV. Their religious rites. Such subordinate particulars as are not easily reducible to either of those heads will conclude the present chapter.

Persons.

I. Both men and women were nothing more than a slight covering of cotton cloth round the waist; but in the women it extended to the knees; the children of both sexes appeared entirely naked. In stature they were taller, but less robust than the Charibes.* Their colour was a clear brown; not deeper, in general, according to Columbus, than that of a Spanish peasant who has been much exposed to the wind and the sun.† Like the Charaibes, they altered the natural configuration of the head in infancy; but after a different mode‡; and by this practice, says Herrera, the crown was so strengthened that a Spanish broad-sword, in-

* Oviedo, Som.

† F. Col. c. xxiii.

‡ The *sinciput*, or fore-part of the head from the eyebrows to the coronal suture, was depressed, which gave an unnatural thickness and elevation to the *occiput*, or hinder part of the skull.

stead of cleaving the skull at a stroke, would frequently break short upon it;* an illustration which gives an admirable idea of the clemency of their conquerors. Their hair was uniformly black, without any tendency to curl; their features were hard and unsightly; the face broad, and the nose flat; but their eyes streamed with good-nature, and altogether there was something pleasing and inviting in the countenances of most of them, which proclaimed a frank and gentle disposition. It was an honest face, (says Martyr) coarse but not gloomy; for it was enlivened by confidence, and softened by compassion.

Much has been suggested by modern philosophers, concerning a supposed feebleness in their persons and constitutions. They are represented to have been incapable of the smallest degree of labour, incurably indolent, and insensible even to the attractions of beauty, and the influence of love†. This wonderful debility and coldness have been attributed by some writers to a vegetable diet; by others it is pretended that they derived from nature less appetite for food than the natives of Europe; but nothing can more pointedly demonstrate the in-

* Herrera, lib. i. c. xvi. who copies this circumstance from Oviedo.

† Robertson, Buffon, De Pauw, and others.

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 I.
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 dolent inattention of historians, than their combining these circumstances in one and the same character. An insensibility, or contemptuous disregard towards the female sex, was a feature peculiar to the Charaibes ; who, however, as we have seen, were robust and vigorous in their persons, and insatiably voracious of food. It constituted no part of the disposition of our islanders ; amongst whom an attachment to the sex was remarkably conspicuous. Love, with this happy people, was not a transient and youthful ardour only, but the source of all their pleasures, and the chief business of life : for not being, like the Charaibes, oppressed by the weight of perpetual solicitude, and tormented by an unquenchable thirst of revenge, they gave full indulgence to the instincts of nature, while the influence of the climate heightened the sensibility of the passions.\*

In truth, an excessive sensuality was among the greatest defects in their character : and to this cause alone is imputed, by some writers, the origin of that dreadful disease, with the

\* See Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii. We have nearly the same account at this day of the Arrowauks of Guiana. “ In their “ natural disposition,” (says Bancroft) “ they are amorous “ and wanton ;” and Barrere observes, “ *ils sont lubriques* “ *au suprême degré.*” It is related by Herrera, that a deity similar to the Venus of antiquity, was one of the Divinities of the *Tlascalans*, a people of Mexico.

infliction of which they have almost revenged the calamities brought upon them by the avarice of Europe:—if, indeed, the venereal contagion was first introduced into Spain from these islands; a conclusion to which, notwithstanding all that has been written in support of it, an attentive inquirer will still hesitate to subscribe.\*

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III.

\* “The venereal disease,” (says Oviedo) was certainly introduced into Europe from these islands, where the best medicine for the cure of it, the *guaiacum*, is also found; the Almighty so remembering mercy in judgment that, when our sins provoke punishment, he sends likewise a remedy.—I was acquainted with many persons who accompanied Columbus in his first and second voyages, and suffered this disease: one of whom was Pedro Margarite, a man much respected of the King and Queen. In the year 1496 it began to spread in Europe, and the physicians were wholly at a loss in what manner to treat it.—When, after this, Gonzales Fernandes de Cordova was sent with an army by his Catholic Majesty on behalf of Ferdinand the Second King of Naples, some infected persons accompanied that army, and by intercourse with the women, spread the disease among the Italians and the French; both which nations had successively the honour of giving it a name; but in truth it came originally from Hispaniola, where it was very common, as was likewise the remedy.”

This account is sufficiently particular; nevertheless there is reason to believe that the venereal infection was known in Europe many centuries before the discovery of America: although it is possible it might have broke out with renewed violence about the time of Columbus's return from his first expedition.—This was the era of wonder, and probably the infrequency of the contagion before,

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That a people who possessed the means of gratifying every inclination without labour, should sometimes incline to be indolent, is a circumstance not very extraordinary. As the wants of nature were supplied almost spontaneously, and no covering was absolutely requisite but the shade, that necessity which urges men to action, and, by exercise invigorates the fibres, was here wholly unknown. It is probable, therefore, that in muscular strength the natives were inferior to their invaders, and being less accustomed to labour, they might also require less nourishment. These

that period, gave colour to a report, perhaps at first maliciously propagated by some who envied the success of Columbus, *that this disease was one of the fruits of his celebrated enterprize.* It is impossible, in the space of a marginal note, to enter deeply into this subject; neither does the full investigation of it come within the design of my work. I therefore refer such of my readers as are desirous of forming a decided opinion on the question, to the Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxvii. and vol. xxxi. (No. 365 and No. 11.) also to two learned treatises on the subject by Mr. Sanches, published at Paris 1772 and 1774, and to the authorities referred to by Mr. Foster in his "Observations made during a Voyage round the World," p. 493.—In Stow's Survey of London, vol. ii. p. 7. is preserved a copy of the rules and regulations established by Parliament in the eighth year of Henry the Second, for the government of the licensed stews in Southwark, among which I find the following: "No stewholder to keep any woman that hath the perilous infirmity of burning." This was 330 years before the voyage of Columbus-

conclusions may be admitted without supposing any degradation of their nature, and with no very unfavourable impression of the climate. Their limbs however were pliant and active, and in their motions they displayed both gracefulness and ease. Their agility was eminently conspicuous in their dances, wherein they delighted and excelled, devoting the cool hours of night to this employment.\* It was their custom, says Herrera, to dance from evening to the dawn; and although fifty thousand men and women were frequently assembled together on these occasions, they seemed actuated by one common impulse, keeping time by responsive motions of their hands, feet, and bodies, with an exactness that was wonderful.† These public dances (for they had others highly licentious) were appropriated to particular solemnities, and being accompanied with historical songs, were called *Arietoës*; a singular feature in their political institutions, of which I shall presently speak.

Besides the exercise of dancing, another diversion was prevalent among them which they called *Bato*; and it appears from the account given of it by the Spanish historians,‡ that it had a distant resemblance to the English game

\* P. Martyr, Decad. iii. c. vii.

† Herrera, lib. ix. c. ii.

‡ Oviedo, lib vi. c. ii. Herrera, lib. iii. c. iv.

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of cricket; for the players were divided into two parties, which alternately changed places, and the sport consisted in dexterously throwing and returning an elastic ball from one party to the other. It was not however caught in the hand, or returned with an instrument; but received on the head, the elbow, or the foot, and the dexterity and force with which it was thence repelled, were astonishing and inimitable.—Such exertions belong not to a people incurably enervated and slothful.

Intellects.

II. They are, nevertheless, pronounced by many writers, to have been naturally inferior to the natives of Europe, not only in bodily strength, but likewise in genius and mental endowments. This assertion has, I think, been advanced with more confidence than proof. That the mind, like the body, acquires strength by employment, is indeed a truth which we all acknowledge, because we all experience it; and it requires no great sagacity to discover, that ingenuity is seldom very powerfully exerted to gratify appetites which do not exist, or to guard against inconveniences which are not felt. If our islanders, therefore, rose in some respects to a degree of refinement not often observable in savage life, it may justly be presumed that in a state of society productive of new desires and artificial necessities, their capacities would have been susceptible of still

further improvement. Their situation alone, without recurring to the various other causes assigned by philosophers, sufficiently accounts for the paucity of their ideas. Men without anxiety for the future, have little reflection on the past. What they wanted in excited energy of mind, was however abundantly supplied by the softer affections; by sweetness of temper, and native goodness of disposition. All writers who have treated of their character, agree that they were unquestionably the most gentle and benevolent of the human race. Though not blessed with the light of revelation, they practised one of the noblest precepts of Christianity, forgiveness of their enemies: laying all that they possessed at the feet of their oppressors; courting their notice, and preventing their wishes, with such fondness and assiduity as one would have thought might have disarmed habitual cruelty, and melted bigotry into tenderness.\*

Among other instances of their generous and compassionate turn of mind, the following is not the least remarkable. Soon after Columbus's first arrival at Hispaniola, one of his ships was wrecked on the coast. The natives, scorning to derive advantage to themselves from the distress of the strangers (unconscious indeed of

\* Martyr. Herrera. F. Columbus, c. xxvii. xxxii. &c. &c.

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the calamities which their arrival was soon to bring upon them) beheld the accident with the liveliest emotions of sorrow, and hastened to their relief. A thousand canoes were instantly in motion, busily employed in conveying the seamen and cargo ashore; by which timely assistance, not a life was lost; and of the goods and provisions that were saved from the wreck, not the smallest article was embezzled. Such was their celerity and good-will on this occasion, says Martyr, that no friend for friend, or brother for brother in distress, could have manifested stronger tokens of sympathy and pity.* Other historians still heighten the picture; for they relate that Guacanahari, the sovereign of that part of the country, perceiving that notwithstanding the efforts of his people, the ship itself and great part of the cargo were irrecoverably sunk, waited on Columbus to condole with him on the occasion; and while this poor Indian lamented his misfortune in terms which excited surprise and admiration, he offered the Admiral (the tears flowing copiously down his cheeks as he spoke) all that he himself possessed, in reparation of his loss.†

This benevolence, unexampled in the history of civilized nations, was soon basely requited

* Martyr, Decad. i. lib. i.

† Fer. Col. c. xxxii. Herrera, Decad. i. lib. i. c. xviii.

by the conduct of a band of robbers, whom Columbus unfortunately left in the island on his departure for Europe. Guacanahari, however, was covered with wounds in defending them from his injured countrymen;* to whose just resentment the Spanish ruffians at length fell a sacrifice; but their anger was of short duration. On Columbus's return, in his second voyage, their fondness revived; and for a considerable time the Spaniards lived among them in perfect security, exploring the interior parts of the country, both in companies and individually, not only without molestation, but invited thereto by the natives. When any of the Spaniards came near to a village, the most ancient and venerable of the Indians, or the cacique himself if present, came out to meet them, and gently conducted them into their habitations, seated them on stools of ebony curiously ornamented. These benches seem to have been seats of honour reserved for their guests—for the Indians threw themselves on the ground, and kissing the hands and feet of the Spaniards, offered them fruits and the choicest of their viands; entreating them to prolong their stay with such solicitude and reverence, as demonstrated that they considered them as beings of a superior nature, whose presence con-

* Herrera, Decad. i. lib. ii. c. ix. Fer. Col. c. xl.

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secrated their dwellings, and brought a blessing with it.\*

The reception which Bartholomew Columbus, who was appointed Lieutenant, or Deputy Governor, in the absence of the Admiral, afterwards met with in his progress through the island to levy tributes from the several caciques or princes, manifested not only kindness, and submission, but on many occasions munificence, and even a high degree of politeness. These caciques had all heard of the wonderful eagerness of the strangers for gold, and such of them as possessed any of this precious metal, willingly presented all that they had to the Deputy Governor. Others who had not the means of obtaining gold, brought provisions and cotton in great abundance.†—Among the latter was Behechio, a powerful cacique, who invited the Lieutenant and his attendants to his dominions; and the entertainment which they received from this hospitable chief is thus described by Martyr. As they approached the king's dwelling, they were met by his wives, to the number of thirty, carrying branches of the palm-tree in their hands; who first saluted the Spaniards with a solemn dance, accompanied with a general song. These ma-

\* Herrera, Decad. i. lib. i. c. xiv. F. Col. c. xxvii.

† P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. v.

trons were succeeded by a train of virgins, distinguished as such by their appearance; the former wearing aprons of cotton cloth, while the latter were arrayed only in the innocence of pure nature. Their hair was tied simply with a fillet over their foreheads, or suffered to flow gracefully on their shoulders and bosoms. Their limbs were finely proportioned, and their complexions, though brown, were smooth, shining, and lovely. The Spaniards were struck with admiration, believing that they beheld the dryads of the woods and the nymphs of the fountains, realizing ancient fable. The branches which they bore in their hands, they now delivered with lowly obeisance to the Lieutenant, who, entering the palace, found a plentiful, and, according to the Indian mode of living, a splendid repast already provided. As night approached the Spaniards were conducted to separate cottages, wherein each of them was accommodated with a cotton hammock; and the next morning they were again entertained with dancing and singing. This was followed by matches of wrestling, and running for prizes; after which two great bodies of armed Indians unexpectedly appeared, and a mock engagement ensued, exhibiting their modes of attack and defence in their wars with the Charaibes. For three days were the Spaniards thus royally entertained, and on the

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fourth, the affectionate Indians regretted their departure.

III. The submissive and respectful deportment of these placid people towards their superiors, and those they considered as such, was derived probably in some degree from the nature of their government, which, contrary to that of the Charaibes under a similar climate, was monarchical and even absolute. The regal authority, however, though not circumscribed by positive institutions, was tempered into great mildness by that constitutional benevolence which predominated throughout every part of their conduct, from the highest to the lowest. The sympathy which they manifested towards the distress of others, proves that they were not wretched themselves; for in a state of absolute slavery and misery, men are commonly devoid both of virtue and pity.

Their kings, as we have seen, were called Caciques, and their power was hereditary:—but there were also subordinate chieftains or princes, who were tributaries to the sovereign of each district. Thus the territory of Hispaniola, anciently called Xaraguay, extending from the plain of Leogane to the westernmost part of the island, was the kingdom of the Cacique Behechio, whom I have mentioned above; but it appears from Martyr, that no less than thirty-two inferior chieftains or nobles had

jurisdiction within that space of country, who were accountable to the supreme authority of Behechio.\* They seem to have somewhat resembled the ancient barons or feudatories of Europe; holding their possessions by the tenure of service. Oviedo relates, that they were under the obligation of personally attending the sovereign, both in peace and war, whenever commanded so to do.† It is to be lamented that the Spanish historians afford very little information concerning this order of nobles, or the nature and extent of their subordinate jurisdiction.

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The whole island of Hispaniola was divided into five great kingdoms;‡ of two of which, when Columbus first landed, Guacanahari and Behechio were absolute sovereigns.—A third principal cacique was Cuanaboa, whose history is remarkable: he had been originally a war captain among a body of Charaibes, who had invaded the dominions of Behechio, and on condition of preventing the further incursions of his countrymen had received his sister, the beautiful Anacoana, in marriage; together with an extent of country, which he had converted into a separate kingdom. The establishment

\* P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. v.

† Oviedo, lib. iii. c. iv.

‡ Oviedo, lib. iii. c. iv.

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of this leader and his followers in Hispaniola, had introduced into this part of the island the Charaibean language, and also the use of the bow and arrow,\* a weapon with the practice of which the natives of the larger islands were generally unacquainted. Cuanaboa however still retained his ferocious disposition, and having been accused by Guacanahari before Christopher Columbus, of murdering some of the Spaniards, was ordered by that commander to be sent to Spain; but the ship perished at sea. The sad fate of his unfortunate widow, the innocent Anacoana, who was most atrociously murdered in 1505, by Ovando, the Governor of Hispaniola, for no cause, that I can discover, but her fond attachment to Bartholomew Columbus, having been related at large in the late American history, need not be repeated here.

The islands of Cuba and Jamaica were divided, like Hispaniola, into many principalities or kingdoms; but we are told that the whole extent of Porto Rico was subject to one cacique only.† It has been remarked that the dignity of these chieftains was hereditary; but if Martyr is to be credited, the law of succession among them was different from that of all other people;

\* Oviedo, lib. iil.

† P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. il.

for he observes,\* that the caciques bequeathed the supreme authority to the children of their sisters, according to seniority, disinheriting their own offspring; “being certain,” adds Martyr, “that by this policy they preferred the blood “royal, which might not happen to be the case “in advancing any of the children of their “numerous wives.” The relation of Oviedo is somewhat different, and seems more probable: he remarks, that one of the wives of each cacique was particularly distinguished above the rest, and appears to have been considered by the people at large as the reigning queen;† that the children of this lady, according to priority of birth, succeeded to the father’s honours; but in default of issue by the favourite princess, the sisters of the cacique, if there were no surviving brothers, took place of the cacique’s own children by his other wives. Thus Anacoana, on the death of Behechio her brother, became queen of Xaraguay.‡ It is obvious that this regulation was intended to prevent the mischiefs of a disputed succession, among children whose pretensions were equal.

The principal cacique was distinguished by regal ornaments and numerous attendants. In

\* Decad. iii. c. ix.

† Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

‡ Herrera, lib. vi. c. ii.

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 travelling through his dominions, he was commonly borne on men's shoulders, after a manner very much resembling the use of the palanqueen in the East Indies.\* According to Martyr,† he was regarded by all his subjects with such reverence, as even exceeded the bounds of nature and reason; for if he ordered any of them to cast themselves headlong from a high rock, or to drown themselves in the sea, alleging no cause but his sovereign pleasure, he was obeyed without a murmur; opposition to the supreme authority being considered not only as unavailing, but impious.

Nor did their veneration terminate with the life of the prince, it was extended to his memory after death; a proof that his authority, however extravagant, was seldom abused. When a cacique died, his body was embowelled and dried in an oven moderately heated, so that the bones and even the skin were preserved entire.‡ The corpse was then placed in a cave with those of his ancestors, this being (observes Oviedo) among these simple people the only system of heraldry, whereby they intended to render not the name alone, but the persons also of their worthies immortal. If a cacique

\* Herrera, lib. i. c. xvi.

† Martyr, Decad. i. c. i.

‡ Herrera lib. iii. c. iii. F. Columbus. c. lxi.

was slain in battle, and the body could not be recovered, they composed songs in his praise, which they taught their children; a better and nobler testimony surely than heaps of dry bones, or even monuments of marble; since memorials to the deceased are, or ought to be, intended less in honour of the dead, than as incitements to the living.\*

These heroic effusions constituted a branch of those solemnities, which, as hath been observed, were called *Arietoës*; consisting of hymns and public dances, accompanied with musical instruments made of shells, and a sort of drum, the sound of which was heard at a vast dis-

\* It is related by Martyr, that on the death of a cacique, the most beloved of his wives was immolated at his funeral. Thus he observes, that Anacoana, on the death of her brother king Behechio, ordered a very beautiful woman, whose name was Guanahata Benechina, to be buried alive in the cave where his body (after being dried as above-mentioned) was deposited.\* But Oviedo, though by no means partial towards the Indian character, denies that this custom was general among them.† Anacoana, who had been married to a Charaibe, probably adopted the practice from the account she had received from her husband of his national customs. And it is not impossible, under a female administration—*among savages*—but that the extraordinary beauty of the unfortunate victim contributed to her destruction.

\* Martyr, Decad. iii. lib. ix.

† Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

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tance.* These hymns, reciting the great actions of the departed cacique, his fame in war, and his gentleness in peace, formed a national history,† which was at once a tribute of gratitude to the deceased monarch and a lesson to the living. Nor could any thing have been more instructive to the rising generation than this institution, since it comprehended also the antiquities of their country and the traditions of their ancestors. Expressions of national triumph for victory in war, lamentations in times of public calamity, the voice of festivity, and the language of love, were likewise the subjects of these exhibitions; the dances, so essential a part of them, being grave or gay as the occasion required. It is pretended that among the traditions thus publicly recited there was one of a prophetic nature, denouncing ruin and desolation by the arrival of strangers completely clad, and armed with the lightning of heaven. The ceremonies which were observed when this awful prediction was repeated, we may well believe were strongly expressive of lamentation and horror.‡

Religious
rites

IV. Like all other unenlightened nations, these poor Indians were indeed the slaves of superstition. Their general theology (for they had an established system, and a priesthood to sup-

* Herrera, lib. iii. c. iv. P. Martyr, Decad. iii. c. vii. F. Columbus.

† Oviedo, lib. v. c. iii.

‡ Martyr, ut supra. Herrera, lib. ii. c. iv.

port it) was a medley of gross folly and childish traditions, the progeny of ignorance and terror. Yet we are sometimes dazzled with a strong ray of sunshine in the midst of surrounding darkness. Historians have preserved a remarkable speech of a venerable old man, a native of Cuba, who, approaching Christopher Columbus with great reverence, and presenting a basket of fruit, addressed him as follows. “Whether
“you are divinities,” he observed, “or mortal
“men, we know not. You are come into these
“countries with a force, against which, were
“we inclined to resist it, resistance would be
“folly. We are all therefore at your mercy;
“but if you are men, subject to mortality like
“ourselves, you cannot be unapprised, that after
“this life there is another, wherein a very dif-
“ferent portion is allotted to good and bad men.
“If therefore you expect to die, and believe
“with us that every one is to be rewarded in a
“future state, according to his conduct in the
“present, you will do no hurt to those who do
“none to you.”*

* This remarkable circumstance happened on the 7th of July 1494, and is attested by Pet. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. iii. and by Herrera, lib. ii. c. xiv. If it be asked how Columbus understood the Cacique, the answer is, that he had carried with him to Spain, in his former voyage, several of the Indians; one of whom, a native of Guanahani, who had remained with him from October 1492,

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Their notions of future happiness seem, however, to have been narrow and sensual. They supposed that the spirits of good men were conveyed to a pleasant valley, which they called *Coyaba*; a place of indolent tranquillity, abounding with delicious fruits, cool shades, and murmuring rivulets;* in a country where drought never rages, and the hurricane is never felt. In this seat of bliss (the Elysium of antiquity) they believed that their greatest enjoyment would arise from the company of their departed ancestors, and of those persons who were dear to them in life;†—a proof at least of their filial piety, and of the warmth and tenderness of their affections and dispositions.

The consciousness in our Indians that they were accountable beings, seems to indicate a greater degree of improvement than we are willing to allow to any of the natives of the New Hemisphere. Although, like the Charibes, our islanders acknowledged a plurality of gods; like them too, they believed in the existence of one supreme, invisible, immortal, and omnipotent Creator, whom they named *Jocahuna*.‡ But unhappily, with these important

had acquired the Spanish language. This man, whose name was *Didacus*, served him on this and other occasions, both as a guide and interpreter.

* Fer. Col. c. lxi.

† Herrera, lib. iii. c. iii.

‡ Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ix. F. Columbus.

truths, the poor people blended the most puerile and extravagant fancies, which were neither founded in rational piety, nor productive of moral obligation. They assigned to the supreme Being, a father and mother, whom they distinguished by a variety of names, and they supposed the sun and moon to be the chief seats of their residence.* Their system of idol worship was, at the same time, more lamentable than even those of the Charaibes; for it would seem that they paid divine honours to stocks and stones converted into images, which they called *Zemi*; not regarding these idols as symbolical representations only of their subordinate divinities, and useful as sensible objects, to awaken the memory and animate devotion, but ascribing divinity to the material itself, and actually worshipping the rude stone or block which their own hands had fashioned. It may be observed, however, that an equal degree of folly prevailed among people much more enlightened. The Egyptians themselves, the most ancient of civilized nations, worshipped various kinds of animals, and representations of animals, some of them the most noxious in nature; and even the accomplished philosophers of Greece and Rome paid divine honours to men to whom they had themselves

* F. Columbus. P. Martyr. Benzoni.

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given an apotheosis.—So nearly allied in religious researches, is the blindness of untutored nature to the insufficiency of mere cultivated reason !

It has indeed been asserted (whether justly or not) that “ the superstitions of paganism “ always wore the appearance of pleasure, and “ often of virtue ;” * but the theology of our poor islanders bore a different aspect. By a lamentable inconsistency of the human mind, they considered the Creator of all things as wholly regardless of the work of his hands ; and as having transferred the government of the world to subordinate and malignant beings, who delighted in converting into *evil*, that which He pronounced to be *good*. The effusions of gratitude, the warmth of affection, the confidence of hope, formed no part of their devotions. Their idols were universally hideous and frightful, sometimes representing toads and other odious reptiles ; but more frequently the human face horribly distorted ;—a proof that they considered them not as benevolent, but evil powers ;—as objects of terror—not of admiration and love.

To keep alive this sacred and awful prejudice in the minds of the multitude, and heighten its influence, their *Bohitos* or priests, appropriated a

* Gibbon.

consecrated house in each village, wherein the Zemi was invoked and worshipped. Nor was it permitted to the people at large, at all times, to enter, and on unimportant occasions approach the dread object of their adoration. The bohitos undertook to be their messengers and interpreters, and by the efficacy of their prayers to avert the dangers which they dreaded. The ceremonies exhibited on these solemnities were well calculated to extend the priestly dominion, and confirm the popular subjection. In the same view, the bohitos added to their holy profession the practice of physic, and they claimed likewise the privilege of educating the children of the first rank of people ;*—a combination of influence which, extending to the nearest and dearest concerns both of this life and the next, rendered their authority irresistible.

With such power in the priesthood, it may well be supposed, that the alliance between church and state was not less intimate in these islands than in the kingdoms of Europe. As in many other nations, religion was here made the instrument of civil despotism, and the will of the cacique, if confirmed by the priest, was impiously pronounced the decree of heaven. Columbus relates, that some of his people en-

* Martyr.

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tering unexpectedly into one of their houses of worship, found the cacique employed in obtaining responses from the Zemi. By the sound of the voice which came from the idol, they knew that it was hollow, and dashing it to the ground to expose the imposture, they discovered a tube, which was before covered with leaves, that communicated from the back part of the image to an inner apartment, whence the priest issued his precepts as through a speaking trumpet;—but the cacique earnestly intreated them to say nothing of what they had seen; declaring that by means of such pious frauds, he collected tributes, and kept his kingdom in subjection.

The reader, I believe, will readily acquit me for declining to enter into any further detail of the various wild notions, and fantastical rites, which were founded on such arts and impostures. Happily for our islanders, however, the general system of their superstition, though not amiable was not cruel. We find among them but few of those barbarous ceremonies which filled the Mexican temples with pollution, and the spectators with horror. They were even more fortunate in this respect than the otherwise happy inhabitants of the lately discovered islands in the Southern Pacific Ocean; amongst whom the practice of offering human sacrifices to their deities is still dreadfully prevalent, as

it anciently was amongst most of the nations of the earth.

CHAP.  
III.



Having thus mentioned the natives of the South-Sea Islands, I cannot but advert to the wonderful similarity observable in many respects, between our ill-fated West-Indians and that placid people. The same frank and affectionate temper, the same cheerful simplicity, gentleness, and candour;—a behaviour devoid of meanness and treachery, of cruelty and revenge, are apparent in the character of both;—and although placed at so great a distance from each other, and divided by the intervention of the American Continent, we may trace a resemblance even in many of their customs and institutions; their national songs and dances, their domestic economy, their system of government, and their funeral ceremonies. I pretend not, however, to affirm, that this resemblance is so exact, as to create the presumption of a common origin. The affinity perceivable in the dispositions and virtues of these widely separated tribes, arose probably from a similarity in their circumstances and situation, operating on the general principles of human nature. Placed alike in a happy medium between savage life, properly so called, and the refinements of polished society, they are found equally exempt from the sordid corporeal distresses and sanguinary passions of the former.

Miscellaneous observations.

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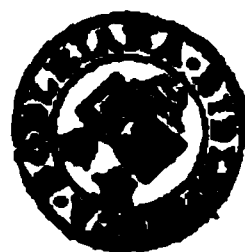
state, and from the artificial necessities, the restraints and solitudes of the latter. To a speculative mind, such a situation may appear, for a moment, even superior to our own; “but if “we admit,” says the elegant historian of the amiable Otaheitans, “that they are upon the “whole happier than we, we must admit that “the child is happier than the man, and that we “are losers by the perfection of our nature, the “increase of our knowledge, and the enlarge- “ment of our views.”*

In those inventions and arts which varying the enjoyments, add considerably to the value of life, I believe the Otaheitans were in general somewhat behind our islanders: in agriculture they were particularly so.† The great sup-

* Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 105.

† Dr. Robertson, in his *History of America*, vol. i. p. 332, observes, that as the natives of the New World had no tame animals, nor the use of the metals, their agriculture must necessarily have been imperfect. It should however be remembered, that as every family raised corn for their own support, and the islands being (to use the expression of Las Casas) “abounding with inhabitants as “*an ant-hill with ants*,” a very small portion of ground allotted to the maintenance of each family, would comprehend in the aggregate an immense space of cultivated country. Thus we find Bartholomew Columbus observing, that the fields about Zabraba, a country in the Gulf of Darien, which he viewed in 1503, “were all covered “with maize, like the corn fields of Europe, *for above six “leagues together*.” Unacquainted with the soil of the

port of the insular territories of the South-Sea consists of the bread-fruit and the plantain ; both which flourish there spontaneously ; and although the inhabitants have likewise plantations of yams and other esculent roots, yet the cultivation of none of them appears to be as extensive as was that of the maize in the West Indies, or to display equal skill with the preparation of the cassavi-bread from the manioc.* The West-



West Indies, Dr. Robertson should have delivered his sentiments on this subject with diffidence. That soil which is known in these islands by the name of *brick-mould*, is not only superior to most others in fertility, but requires very little trouble in cultivation. Among our islanders, to whom the use of iron was unknown, instruments were ingeniously formed of stone, and of a certain species of durable wood, which were endued with nearly equal solidity and sharpness. We find them felling large trees, building canoes and houses, and forming domestic utensils of exquisite workmanship. Possessing the tools and materials necessary for these purposes, they could not be destitute of proper implements for the ruder operations of husbandry, on a soil incapable of much resistance.

* L'Abbe Raynal, in opposition to the testimony of all the early Spanish historians who have treated of the discovery and productions of America (none of whom indeed does he appear to have consulted) asserts that the *manioc* plant was originally introduced into the West Indies from Africa, and that the Indians were first instructed by the negroes in the art of converting the poisonous root into wholesome food. For the satisfaction of such of my readers as are not intimately acquainted with the American History, I think it necessary to observe, that P. Martyr

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Indians, notwithstanding that they possessed almost every variety of vegetable nature which grew in the countries I have mentioned, the bread-fruit excepted, raised also both the maize and maniock in great abundance; and they had acquired the skill of watering their lands from distant rivers in time of drought.* It may likewise be observed, that although the Otaheitans possess the shrub which produces cotton, they neither improve it by culture, nor have the knowledge of converting its wool into cloth;† but content themselves with a far meaner production as a substitute. Our islanders had not only the skill of making excellent cloth from their cotton, but they practised also the art of dying it with a variety of colours; some of them of the utmost brilliancy and beauty.‡

In the science of ship-building (if the construction of such vessels as either people used may be distinguished with that appellation) the

in his first Decad, which bears date November, 1493, seven months only after the return of Columbus from his first voyage, particularly mentions the maniock, or *jucca*, as furnishing great part of the food of the islanders, and he describes their manner of making the *cassavi* bread from it; observing that the raw juice is as strong a poison as aconite. Negroes were not imported into the islands till many years after this account was published.

* Martyr, Decad. iii.

† Forster's Observations.


‡ Oviedo. Purchas, vol. iii. p. 985.

superiority is on the side of Otaheite; yet the *Piraguas* of the West-Indians were fully sufficient for the navigation they were employed in, and indeed were by no means contemptible sea-boats. We are told that some of these vessels were navigated with forty oars;* and Herrera relates that Bartholomew Columbus, in passing through the Gulph of Honduras, fell in with one that was eight feet in breadth, and in length equal to a Spanish galley. Over the middle was an awning composed of mats and palm-tree leaves; underneath which were disposed the women and children, secured both from rain and the spray of the sea.—It was laden with commodities from Jucatan.†

On the other hand, our islanders far surpassed the people of Otaheite in the elegance and variety of their domestic utensils and furniture; their earthen-ware, curiously woven beds, and implements of husbandry. Martyr speaks with admiration of the workmanship of some of the former of these. In the account he gives of a magnificent donation from Anacoana to

* Martyr, Decad. i.

† Herrera, Decad. i. lib. v. These vessels were built either of cedar, or the great cotton-tree hollowed, and made square at each end like punts. Their gunnels were raised with canes braced close, and smeared over with some bituminous substance to render them water-tight, and they had sharp keels. P. Martyr, Decad.

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 **I** Bartholomew Columbus, on his first visit to that princess, he observes that, among other valuables, she presented him with fourteen chairs of ebony beautifully wrought, and no less than sixty vessels of different sorts, for the use of his kitchen and table, all of which were ornamented with figures of various kinds, fantastic forms, and accurate representations of living animals.* The industry and ingenuity of our Indians therefore must have greatly exceeded the measure of their wants. Having provided for the necessities of their condition, they proceeded to improve and adorn it.

But I must now leave them to the miserable fate in which it pleased infinite but inscrutable wisdom to permit their merciless invaders to involve them for ever!—It may, I think, be safely affirmed, that the whole story of mankind affords no scene of barbarity equal to that of the cruelties exercised on these innocent and inoffensive people. All the murders and desolations of the most pitiless tyrants that ever diverted themselves with the pangs and convulsions of their fellow-creatures, fall infinitely short of the bloody enormities committed by the Spanish nation in the conquest of the New World;—a conquest, on a low estimate, effected by the murder of ten millions of the species! But although the ac-

* P. Martyr, Decad. i.

counts which are transmitted down to us of this dreadful carnage are authenticated beyond the possibility of dispute, the mind shrinking from the contemplation, wishes to resist conviction, and to relieve itself by incredulity.—Such at least is the apology which I would frame for the author of the American history, when I find him attempting, in contradiction to the voice and feelings of all mankind, to palliate such horrible wickedness.* Yet the same author admits, that in the short interval of fifteen years subsequent to the discovery of the West Indies, the Spaniards had reduced the natives of Hispaniola “from a million to sixty thousand.”† It is in vain that he remarks on the bodily feebleness of these poor Indians, and their natural incapacity for labour. Such a constitutional

* Introduction to the History of America, by Dr. Robertson, vol. i. p. 10. “It is to be hoped,” says this author, “that the Spaniards will at last discover this system of concealment to be no less impolitic than illiberal. From what I have experienced in the course of my inquiries, I am satisfied that upon a more minute scrutiny into their early operations in the New World, however REPREHENSIBLE (a tender expression) the actions of individuals may appear, the conduct of the nation will be placed in a more favourable light.” This opinion, however, needs no other refutation than that which is to be found in the subsequent pages of the learned author’s history.

† History of America, vol. i. book iii. p. 185.

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defect, if it existed, entitled them to greater lenity, but the Spaniards distributed them into lots, and compelled them to dig in the mines, without rest or intermission, until death, their only refuge, put a period to their sufferings. Such as attempted resistance or escape, their merciless tyrants hunted down with dogs, which were fed on their flesh. They disregarded sex and age, and with impious and frantic bigotry even called in religion to sanctify their cruelties. Some, more zealous than the rest, forced their miserable captives into the water, and after administering to them the rite of baptism, cut their throats the next moment to prevent their apostasy! Others made a vow to hang or burn thirteen every morning, in honour of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles! Nor were these the excesses only of a blind and remorseless fanaticism, which exciting our abhorrence, excites also our pity: the Spaniards were actuated in many instances by such wantonness of malice, as is wholly unexampled in the wide history of human depravity.—Martyr relates, that it was a frequent practice among them to murder the Indians of Hispaniola in sport, or merely, he observes, to keep their hands in use. They had an emulation which of them could most dexterously strike off the head of a man at a blow; and wagers frequently depended on this hellish excr-

cise.* To fill up the measure of this iniquity, and demonstrate to the world that the nation at large participated in the guilt of individuals, the court of Spain not only neglected to punish these enormities in its subjects, but when rapacity and avarice had nearly defeated their own purposes, by the utter extirpation of the natives of Hispaniola, the king gave permission to seize on the unsuspecting inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, and transport them to perish in the mines of St. Domingo. "Several vessels," says Dr. Robertson, "were fitted out for the Lucayos, the commanders of which informed the natives, with whose language they were now well acquainted, that they came from a delicious country, in which their departed ancestors resided, by whom they were sent to invite them to resort thither, to partake of the bliss which they enjoyed. That simple people listened with wonder and credulity, and fond of visiting their relations and friends in that happy region, followed the Spaniards with eagerness. By this artifice, above 40,000 were decoyed into Hispaniola, to share in the sufferings which were the lot of the inhabitants of that island, and to mingle their groans and tears with those of that wretched

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* P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. vii.

BOOK I.  "race of men."* After reading these accounts, who can help forming an indignant wish that

* History of America, book iii. p. 186. See likewise P. Martyr, Decad. vii. This author relates the following affecting particulars of the poor Lucayans thus fraudulently decoyed from their native countries. "Many of them in the anguish of despair, obstinately refuse all manner of sustenance, and retiring to desert caves and unfrequented woods, silently give up the ghost. Others, repairing to the sea-coast on the northern side of Hispaniola, cast many a longing look towards that part of the ocean where they suppose their own islands to be situated, and as the sea-breeze rises they eagerly inhale it, fondly believing that it has lately visited their own happy valleys, and comes fraught with the breath of those they love, their wives and their children. With this idea they continue for hours on the coast, until nature becomes utterly exhausted; when stretching out their arms towards the ocean, as if to take a last embrace of their distant country and relations, they sink down and expire without a groan."—"One of the Lucayans," continues the same author, "who was more desirous of life or had greater courage than most of his countrymen, took upon him a bold and difficult piece of work. Having been used to build cottages in his native country, he procured instruments of stone, and cut down a large spongy tree called *jaruma*,* the body of which he dexterously scooped into a canoe. He then provided himself with oars, some Indian corn, and a few gourds of water, and prevailed on another man and a woman to embark with him on a voyage to the Lucayos islands. Their navigation was prosperous for near 200 miles, and they were almost within sight of their own long-lost shores, when unfortunately they were

* The *bombax*, or wild cotton tree.

the hand of Heaven, by some miraculous interposition, had swept these European tyrants from the face of the earth, who like so many beasts of prey roamed round the world only to desolate and destroy; and more remorseless than the fiercest savage, thirsted for human blood; without having the impulse of natural appetite to plead in their defence!

On the whole, if we consider of how little benefit the acquisition of these islands has since proved to the Spanish nation, and count over the cost of the conquest, we must find it extremely difficult to include such an event as the massacre of ten millions of innocent people (comprehending the butcheries in Mexico and Peru) amongst the number of those partial evils which ultimately terminate in the general good; nor can we possibly reconcile its permission to our limited ideas of infinite wisdom and goodness! Divines therefore justly conclude, that no stronger proof than that which arises from hence need be given of the existence of a future and better state, wherein the unequal distribution of misery and happiness in this life shall be adjusted; "*when the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain.*"*

"met by a Spanish ship, which brought them back to slavery and sorrow. The canoe is still preserved in Hispaniola as a singular curiosity, considering the circumstances under which it was made."

* In 1585 Sir Francis Drake made a descent on His-

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paniola, and in his account of that island, which is preserved in Hakluyt, vol. iii. he relates that the Spaniards having utterly exterminated the ancient Indians, (not a single descendant being, I doubt, at that time living) had nevertheless derived so little advantage from their cruelty, as to be obliged to *convert pieces of leather into money*—all the silver, in the attainment of which from the bowels of the earth so many thousands of poor wretches had perished, having long since found its way to Europe, and the inhabitants had no means of getting a fresh supply.

It may be proper in this place to observe, that some of the circumstances which I have related above respecting the cruelties of the Spaniards, are extracted from the writings of Bartholomew De Las Casas, who is accused by Dr. Robertson of exaggeration ;—but Oviedo himself, who endeavours to palliate the monstrous barbarities of his countrymen towards the natives, by asserting that they were addicted to unnatural vices, which rendered them properly obnoxious to punishment (a charge, by the way, which Herrera admits to be groundless)—Oviedo, I say, confesses that in 1535, only forty-three years posterior to the discovery of Hispaniola, and when he was himself on the spot, there were not left alive in that island above five hundred of the original natives, old and young ; for he adds, that all the other Indians at that time there, had been forced or decoyed into slavery, from the neighbouring islands.* Las Casas, it is true, when he speaks of numbers in the gross, certainly over-rates the original inhabitants. But it does not appear that he means to deceive ; nor is there any just reason to suspect his veracity when he treats of matters susceptible of precision, more especially in circumstances of which he declares himself to have been an eye-witness. Let the reader judge of Las Casas from the following narrative, in which his falsehood (if the story were false) could have been very

* Oviedo, lib iii. c. vi.

easily detected. "I once beheld," says he, "four or five
" principal Indians roasted alive at a slow fire; and as the
" miserable victims poured forth dreadful screams, which
" disturbed the commanding officer in his afternoon slum-
" bers, he sent word that they should be strangled; but
" the officer on guard (I KNOW HIS NAME, AND I KNOW
" HIS RELATIONS IN SEVILLE) would not suffer it; but
" causing their mouths to be gagged, that their cries
" might not be heard, he stirred up the fire with his own
" hands, and roasted them deliberately till they all ex-
" pired.—I SAW IT MYSELF." !!!

It may be necessary, perhaps, on my own account, to add, that I have no other edition of Las Casas than that which was published at Antwerp in 1579. From a copy of that edition I have extracted the foregoing horrid relation; my hand trembling as I write, and my heart devoutly wishing it could be proved to be false.

CHAPTER IV.

Land animals used as food.—Fishes and wild fowl.—Indian method of fishing and fowling.—Esculent vegetables, &c.—Conclusion.

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I.
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IN tracing the several tribes of quadrupeds, properly so called, which anciently existed in the West Indies, it will be found that the Windward or Charaibean islands possessed all that were possessed by the larger islands, and some species which in the latter were unknown. It is likewise observable, that all the animals of the former are still found in Guiana, and few or none of them in North America. These are additional proofs that the Windward Islands were anciently peopled from the south. The enumeration of them follows :

1. The Agouti ; 2. the Pecary ; 3. the Armadillo ; 4. the Opossum ; 5. the Raccoon ; 6. the Musk Rat ; 7. the Alco ; 8. the smaller Monkey of several varieties.

These I think are their most general appellations ; but from the variety of Indian lan-

guages, or dialects rather of the same language, which anciently prevailed in the islands and on the neighbouring continent, some of these animals have been distinguished by so many different names, that in reading the accounts of them transmitted by the French and Spanish historians, it is often difficult to understand of which in particular they mean to speak.

The Agouti is sometimes called *couti* and *coati*. It was corrupted into *uti* and *utia* by the Spaniards ; and at present it is known in some parts of the West Indies by the terms *pucarara* and *Indian coney*. It is the *mus aguti* of Linnæus, and the *cavy* of Pennant and Buffon.

To these writers it is sufficient to refer for a description of its nature and properties.—I shall briefly observe that, in comparing it with the quadrupeds of Europe, it seems to constitute an intermediate species between the rabbit and the rat ; and of the animals which I have enumerated above, this and the last are, I fear, the only ones that have escaped the common fate of all the nobler inhabitants of these unfortunate islands, man himself (as we have seen) not excepted ! The agouti is still frequently found in Porto-Rico, Cuba and Hispaniola, and sometimes in the mountains of Jamaica. In most of the islands to windward, the race, though once common to them all, is now I believe utterly extinct.

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The Pecary, which was not known in the larger islands, has been honoured with no less variety of names than the Agouti. According to Rochefort it was called *javari* and *pacquire*. By Dampier it is named *pelas*. By Acosta *saino* and *zaino*. It is the *sus tajacu* of Linnæus, and the *pecary* and *Mexican musk-hog* of our English naturalists.

Of this animal, a very full and particular account has been given by Mons. Buffon in his Natural History, and by Dr. Tyson in the Philosophical Transactions. I have heard that it still abounds in many of the provinces of Mexico; but in the West-Indian islands I believe the breed has been long since exterminated. Those that I have seen were carried thither from the continent as objects of curiosity; and they appeared to me to differ from the European hog principally in the singular but well-known circumstance of their having a musky discharge from an aperture or gland on the back, erroneously supposed to be the navel; and in the colour of their bristles; the pecary being indeed highly ornamented; for the bristles of those that I beheld were of a pale blue, tipped with white. It is also related of this animal, that it possesses far greater courage than the hog of Europe; and when hunted by dogs, will frequently turn and compel its enemy to retreat. Thus its native bravery bringing it

within the reach of fire-arms, contributed doubtless to its final destruction in the islands.

Of the Armadillo, the species anciently known in these islands was, I think, that which is called by systematical writers the *nine banded*. It is covered with a joint shell, or scaly armour, and has the faculty of rolling itself up like the hedge-hog. As food it is said to be very wholesome and delicate. It was once found in all parts of the West Indies.

The Opossum (or *manitou*) is distinguishable from all other animals, by a wonderful property. Under the belly of the female there is a pouch, wherein she receives and shelters her young.\*—Both this and the former animal are too well known to the curious in natural researches, to render it necessary for me to be more particular. I believe the opossum, like the pecary, was unknown to the larger islands.

The Racoon was common in Jamaica in the time of Sloane, who observes that it was eaten by all sorts of people. Its abode was chiefly in hollow trees, from whence, says Sloane, it makes paths to the cane-fields, where it chiefly subsists; a circumstance which, while it indicates that its number was considerable, easily accounts for its destruction.

\* I have since learnt that the female *Kangaroo* from New Holland is provided in the same manner.

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The Musk Rat is the *piloris* of naturalists: it burrows in the earth, and smells so strongly of musk, that its retreat is easily discovered. According to the French writers, these abounded anciently in Martinico and the other Windward Islands to a great degree;\* and its resemblance to the common rat of Europe, though four times as large, probably proved fatal to the whole race. I am sometimes inclined to suspect that this animal is the *agouti* of the larger islands.

The Alco was the native dog of the New Hemisphere, nor does it seem to have differed greatly from that of the old; except that it possessed not the power of barking.† The natives of Hispaniola, like those of Otaheite, fattened them with care, and accounted their flesh a great delicacy. “In St. Domingo,” says Acosto, “the dogs of Europe have multiplied so exceedingly, that at this time (1587) “they are a nuisance and a terror to the inhabitants, and a price is set on their heads as on wolves in Old Spain. At first there were no dogs in this island, but a small mute creature resembling a dog, with a nose like that of a fox; which the natives called alco. The Indians were so fond of these little animals,

\* P. Labat, tom. ii. p. 302.

† F. Col. c. xxiv.

“that they carried them on their shoulders  
“wherever they went, or nourished them in  
“their bosoms.”

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The Monkey and its varieties require no description.

Thus it appears that out of eight different species of edible quadrupeds, one only was domestic and sequacious. Few indeed are the animals that own allegiance to man in his savage state. Of the beasts of the forest, the strongest dispute his superiority and the weakest avoid his approach. To his conveniency therefore they contribute nothing, and towards his nourishment, the supplies that they afford are casual and uncertain. Nature however seems to have displayed towards the inhabitants of these islands, a bounty that almost rendered superfluous the labours of art in procuring them sustenance; for, besides the animals that I have mentioned, and those that are furnished by the rivers and the sea, the woods are peopled with two very extraordinary creatures; both of which anciently were, and still are, not only used as food, but accounted superior delicacies.

These are the Iguana and the Mountain-crab. The Iguana (or, as it is more commonly written, the *guana*) is a species of lizard:—a class of animals, about which naturalists are not agreed whether to rank them with

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quadrupeds, or to degrade them to serpents.—

They seem therefore to stand aloof from all established systems, and indeed justly claim a very distinguished place by themselves. From the alligator, the most formidable of the family, measuring sometimes twenty feet in length, the gradation is regular in diminution of size to the small lizard of three inches; the same figure and conformation nearly (though not wholly) prevailing in each. The iguana is one of the intermediate species, and is commonly about three feet long, and proportionably bulky: it lives chiefly among fruit-trees, and is perfectly gentle and innoxious. Europeans doubtless learn to make food of them from the example of the ancient Indians, amongst whom the practice of hunting them was a favourite diversion;† and they are now become generally scarce, except in the islands of the Windward-passage, and such other places between the tropics as are seldom visited by man. I believe indeed the English, even when they were more plentiful, did not often serve them at elegant tables; but their French and Spanish neighbours, less squeamish, still devoured them with exquisite relish: I imagine too they have good reason; for I have been assured by a lady of great beauty and elegance, who spoke from

\* F. Col. c. xxv.

experience, that the iguana is equal in flavour and wholesomeness to the finest green turtle.\*

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Respecting the Mountain Crab, which still

\* P. Labat likewise speaks of a fricasseed guana with high approbation. He compares it to chicken, for the whiteness of its flesh and the delicacy of its flavour.—Tom. iii. p. 315. In a subsequent page he gives a minute account of the manner of catching this animal, and if the reader has no objection to accompany the good Father *à la chasse*, he may participate in the diversion as follows: “We are attended,” says he, “by a negro, “who carried a long rod; at one end of which was a “piece of whipcord with a running knot. After beating “the bushes for some time, the negro discovered our “game basking in the sun on the dry limb of a tree. “Hereupon he began whistling with all his might, to “which the guana was wonderfully attentive, stretching “out his neck and turning his head as if to enjoy it more “fully. The negro now approached, still whistling, and “advancing his rod gently, began tickling with the end “of it the sides and throat of the guana, who seemed “mightily pleased with the operation; for he turned on “his back, and stretched himself out like a cat before “the fire, and at length fairly fell asleep; which the “negro perceiving, dexterously slipt the noose over his “head, and with a jerk brought him to the ground: and “good sport it afforded, to see the creature swell like a “turkey-cock at finding himself entrapped. We caught “others in the same way, and kept one of them alive “seven or eight days; but,” continues the reverend historian, “it grieved me to the heart to find that he thereby “lost much delicious fat.” These animals are likewise known in the East Indies. Sir Joseph Banks shot one of them at Batavia, and found it good food.

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survives in the larger of these islands, though its final extinction is probably at hand, its history is so wonderful, that I choose rather to give it in the language of others, than in any recital of my own. The authors from whom I transcribe, are Du Tertre and Brown. They both wrote from their own knowledge and personal observation, and the facts which they relate have been repeated to me a thousand times in the West Indies, by persons, who I am sure never knew what has been published on the subject by any author whatever. "These animals," says Du Tertre, "live not only in a kind of orderly society in their retreats in the mountains, but regularly once a year march down to the seaside in a body of some millions at a time. As they multiply in great numbers, they choose the months of April or May to begin their expedition; and then sally out from the stumps of hollow trees, from the clefts of rocks, and from the holes which they dig for themselves under the surface of the earth. At that time the whole ground is covered with this band of adventurers; there is no setting down one's foot without treading upon them. The sea is their place of destination, and to that they direct their march with right-lined precision. No geometrician could send them to their destined station by a shorter course; they

“neither turn to the right nor to the left what-  
“ever obstacles intervene; and even if they  
“meet with a house, they will attempt to scale  
“the walls to keep the unbroken tenor of their  
“way. But though this be the general order  
“of their route, they upon other occasions are  
“compelled to conform to the face of the  
“country, and if it be intersected by rivers,  
“they are seen to wind along the course of the  
“stream. The procession sets forward from  
“the mountains with the regularity of an army  
“under the guidance of an experienced com-  
“mander. They are commonly divided into  
“battalions, of which the first consists of the  
“strongest and boldest males, that, like pioneers,  
“march forward to clear the route and face  
“the greatest dangers. The night is their  
“chief time of proceeding, but if it rains by  
“day they do not fail to profit by the occasion,  
“and they continue to move forward in their  
“slow uniform manner. When the sun shines  
“and is hot upon the surface of the ground,  
“they make an universal halt, and wait till the  
“cool of the evening. When they are terri-  
“fied, they march back in a confused disorderly  
“manner, holding up their nippers, with which  
“they sometimes tear off a piece of the skin,  
“and leave the weapon where they inflicted the  
“wound.

“When, after a fatiguing march, and escap-


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“ ing a thousand dangers, for they are some-  
 “ times three months in getting to the shore,  
 “ they have arrived at their destined port, they  
 “ prepare to cast their spawn. For this pur-  
 “ pose the crab has no sooner reached the shore,  
 “ than it eagerly goes to the edge of the water,  
 “ and lets the waves wash over its body two or  
 “ three times to wash off the spawn. The eggs  
 “ are hatched under the sand; and soon after  
 “ millions at a time of the new-born crabs are  
 “ seen quitting the shore, and slowly travelling  
 “ up to the mountains.”

So far Du Tertre, as copied by Goldsmith.  
 What follows is from Brown's History of Ja-  
 maica. “ The old crabs having disburthened  
 “ themselves, (as above) generally regain their  
 “ habitations in the mountains by the latter end  
 “ of June.—In August they begin to fatten,  
 “ and prepare for moulting; filling up their  
 “ burrows with dry grass, leaves, and abund-  
 “ ance of other materials.—When the proper  
 “ period comes, each retires to his hole, shuts  
 “ up the passage, and remains quite unactive  
 “ until he gets rid of his old shell, and is fully  
 “ provided with a new one. How long they  
 “ continue in this state is uncertain, but the  
 “ shell is first observed to burst at the back  
 “ and the sides, to give a passage to the body,  
 “ and the animal extracts its limbs from all the  
 “ other parts gradually afterwards. At this

“ time the flesh is in the richest state, and covered only with a tender membranous skin, variegated with a multitude of reddish veins, but this hardens gradually, and soon becomes a perfect shell like the former. It is however remarkable, that during this change there are some stony concretions always formed in the bag, which waste and dissolve as the creature forms and perfects its new crust.”

To these full and particular accounts I will add, of my own knowledge, that many people, in order to eat of this singular animal in the highest perfection, cause them to be dug out of the earth in the moulting state; but they are usually taken from the time they begin to move of themselves till they reach the sea, as already related. During all this time they are in spawn, and if my testimony can add weight to that of all who have written, and all who have feasted, on the subject, I pronounce them, without doubt, one of the choicest morsels in nature. The observation, therefore, of Du Tertre is neither hyperbolical nor extravagant. Speaking of the various species of this animal, he terms them “ a living and perpetual supply of manna in the wilderness; equalled only by the miraculous bounty of Providence to the children of Israel when wandering in the desert. They are a resource,” continues he, “ to which the Indians have at all times resort; for when

BOOK I.  “all other provisions are scarce, this never fails  
“them.

Such plenty of animal food had the lavish hand of nature enabled the groves and the forests of these highly favoured islands to furnish for the use of man. The regions of water and of air are still more copiously gifted. Happily the inhabitants of those elements, less obnoxious to the arts of destruction than the races that I have described, are yet sufficiently numerous to bear witness themselves to the inexhaustible liberality of their almighty Creator.—We may say in the language of Milton,

————— Each creek and bay  
With fry innumerable swarm, and shoals  
Of fish glide under the green wave.——  
————— Part single, or with mate,  
Graze the sea-weed their pasture; and thro' groves  
Of coral stray, or sporting with quick glance,  
Show to the sun their wav'd coats dropt with gold,

while the woods and the marshes equally abound with wild fowl of infinite variety, and exquisite flavour.\* But of the tribes which

\* The most delicious bird in the West Indies is the *Ortalan* or *October-bird*. It is the *emberiza oryzivora* of Linnæus, or rice-bird of South Carolina; of which a description is given by Catesby.—Yet it is remarkable, that they are reckoned birds of passage in North America as well as in the West Indies. Catesby observes, that they arrive in Carolina in infinite numbers in the month of September to devour the rice: they continue there about

these islands still abundantly furnish, and from whose nature and properties there is no reason to apprehend an extinction of the race, it is not within my province to treat. The enumeration that I have made has chiefly extended to such as from their scarcity are seldom noticed by modern naturalists and voyagers, or of which the knowledge and even the names are lost to the present inhabitants:—for it has been justly observed, that what from its antiquity is but little known, has from that circumstance alone the recommendation of novelty. I shall therefore close my account of the animal creation with a description of two very curious methods, known to the ancient Indians, of catching fish

three weeks, and retire when the rice begins to grow hard.—He supposes their route to be from Cuba to Carolina; but I believe they are not in the islands till the month of October: at least it is in that month that they visit Jamaica in prodigious flights, to feed on the seeds of the Guinea grass.—According to Catesby, the *hens* only arrive in Carolina in September. The hen is about the bigness of a lark, and coloured not unlike it in the back; the breast and belly pale yellow, the bill strong and sharp-pointed, and shaped like most others of the granivorous kind.—The cock's bill is lead-colour, the fore part of the head black, the hinder part and the neck of a reddish yellow, the upper part of the wing white, the back next the head black, lower down grey, the rump white, the greatest part of the wing and the whole tail black; the legs and feet brown in both sexes.—Vide *the Yellow Fly-catcher of Edwards*, p. 5.

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I.  
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and wild fowl, with which I believe the reader will be amused.

“ The Indians of Jainaica and Cuba,” says Oviedo, “ go a fishing with the *remora*, or “ sucking-fish, which they employ as falconers “ employ hawks. This fish, which is not above “ a span long, is kept for the purpose, and re- “ gularly fed. The owner on a calm morning “ carries it out to sea, secured to his canoe by “ a small but strong line, many fathoms in “ length; and the moment the creature sees a “ fish in the water, though at a great distance, “ it starts away with the swiftness of an arrow, “ and soon fastens upon it. The Indian in the “ mean time loosens and lets go the line, “ which is provided with a buoy that keeps on “ the surface of the sea, and serves to mark the “ course which the remora has taken, and he “ pursues it in his canoe until he conceives his “ game to be nearly exhausted and run down. “ He then, taking up the buoy, gradually draws “ the line towards the shore; the remora still “ adhering with inflexible tenacity to its prey, “ and it is with great difficulty that he is made “ to quit his hold. By this method,” adds Oviedo, “ I have known a turtle caught, of a “ bulk and weight which no single man could “ support.”*

* Herrera confirms this account. See also P. Martyr, Decad. i. lib. ii.—Besides the turtle, it is said that the In-

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IV.



Their contrivance for catching wild fowl was equally ingenious, though practised I believe by other nations, particularly the Chinese, at this day. In the ponds to which these birds resort, they used to throw calabashes (a species of gourd) which float about the water, and which, when accustomed to them, the fowl would approach without fear. Having succeeded thus far, the sportsman puts one of these gourds on his head (first making apertures for the sight and the breath) and very cautiously creeps into the water, either gently swimming, or walking where the stream is shallow, with

dians (the reader may believe it or not) frequently caught the *Manati* in the same manner. This singular animal is now become very scarce on the shores of the West India islands, but is still sometimes caught there, as I myself can witness. It is the same which the French call *Lamentin*.—By the British seamen it has been named (from a supposed resemblance in the head) the *Sea-Cow*; and its flesh, which tastes somewhat like pork, is thought to be very good, both fresh and salted.—The animal itself is a sort of amphibious creature, neither a quadruped nor a fish.—It has two legs, and is covered with hair, and suckles its young; yet it never leaves the water, but feeds on grass which grows at the bottom of the sea. It is commonly from ten to fifteen feet long, huge and unwieldy, and weighs from twelve to fifteen hundred weight. Acosta, who was a very good catholic, relates that this animal was very excellent food; “but,” continues he, “I scrupled to eat it on Friday, being doubtful whether it was fish or flesh.”

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his head only above the water, until he gets among the fowl, when seizing one at a time by the feet, and dragging it by a sudden jerk under the surface, he fastens it to his girdle, and thus loads himself with as many as he can carry away, without creating the least alarm or disturbance among the rest.

I might now proceed to an enumeration and account of the esculent vegetables originally produced in these islands; especially those most valuable ones, the Maize, the manioc,* and the different species of the *dioscorea* or Yam; of which, and the many delicious fruits, the growth of these climates, the natives without doubt composed the chief part of their daily support; but I am here happily anticipated by the voluminous collections of systematical writers, particularly those of Sloane, Brown, and Hughes. Nevertheless it were to be wished that those authors had more frequently discriminated than they appear to have done, such vegetables as are indigenous from those which have been transplanted from

* A late ingenious writer (Dr. Darwin) has given it as his opinion that the manioc, or cassava, when made into bread, is rendered mild by the heat it undergoes, rather than by expressing its superfluous juice; and I believe the observation to be just; for Sir Hans Sloane relates, that the juice itself, however acrimonious in its raw state, becomes when boiled as innocent and wholesome as whey.

foreign countries. Nature, with most beneficent intention, has bestowed on distant climates and regions many species peculiar to each. This variety in her works, is one of the greatest incitements to human industry; and the progress of men in spreading abroad the blessings of Providence, adorning and enriching the widely separated regions of the globe with their reciprocal productions, as it is one of the most useful employments of our faculties, so it is a subject which well deserves the notice of the historian, and the contemplation of the philosopher.*

But it is now time to quit general descrip-

* The West Indies are much indebted, on this account, to the East, but I believe that the first of all fruits, the anana or pine-apple, was carried from the West to the East. It was found by Columbus in all the West India Islands, and P. Martyr, whose Decades were chiefly compiled out of Columbus's Letters to King Ferdinand, writes of it as follows: *Alium fructum se invictissimus rex Ferdinandus comedisse fatetur, ab iisdem terris advectum, squamosum, pinis nucamentum adspectu forma colore æmulatur, sed molitie par melopeponi, sapore omnem superat hortensem fructum: non enim arbor est, sed herba, carduo persimilis, aut acantho. Huic et rex ipse palmam tribuit. Ex iis ego pomis minimè comedi: quia unum tantum è paucis allatis reperere incorruptum, cæteris ex longa navigatione putrefactis. Qui in nativo solo recentia ederunt illorum cum admiratione suavitatem extollunt.* Who does not lament that King Ferdinand did not leave a slice for his honest Historiographer? The term *Anana* is, I believe, eastern: The West-Indian name of this fruit was *fan-pola-mie*.

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tion for particular history. Many objects indeed are hereafter to be considered, which being common to all our West-Indian possessions, will be comprehensively discussed;—but in previously treating of the origin and progress of our national establishments in them, it seems proper to discourse of each island separately;—and, as the most important, I begin with Jamaica.

APPENDIX TO BOOK I.

*Containing some additional observations concerning
the origin of the Charaibes.*

HAVING ventured in the second chapter of this book to adopt the opinion of Hornius* and other writers, who assign to some of the natives of America an oriental origin, and suppose that they anciently crossed the Atlantic Ocean, I beg the reader's indulgence while I briefly state the evidence whereon I attempt to rebuild a system which it has become fashionable, among some late philosophers, to reject and deride.

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So many volumes have indeed already been written, and so much useless learning exhausted, on the subject of the first peopling America, that I doubt the reader will shrink with disgust from an investigation, which perhaps has given rise to as great a number of idle books, as any question (some disputed points in divinity excepted) that ever distracted the attention of mankind.

\* De originibus Americanis, lib. ii. c. vi.

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It may be necessary therefore to premise, that I mean to apply my argument *to the Charaibe Nation only*; a people whose manners and characteristic features denote, as I conceive, a different ancestry from that of the generality of the American nations.

It is not wonderful that the notion of their transatlantic origin should have been treated with derision.—The advocates for this opinion, like the framers of most other systems, by attempting to prove too much, have gained even less credit than they deserve. In contending that the New World was first planted by adventurers from the Old, they universally take for granted that some of those adventurers returned and gave accounts of their discoveries; for they suppose that America was well known to the ancients; that not only the Phenicians made repeated voyages thither; but that the Egyptians and Carthaginians also, voluntarily crossed the Atlantic, and planted colonies, at different periods, in various parts of the New Hemisphere.

In support of these opinions, quotations have been made from poets, philosophers and historians: but, if we reflect on the limited extent of navigation before the discovery of the compass; the prevailing direction of the winds between the tropics; and various other obstructions, we may I think very confidently determine (not-

withstanding the traditions preserved by Plato ; the poetical reveries of Seneca the tragedian, and many other passages in ancient writers, which admit of various interpretations, and therefore prove nothing) *that no vessel ever returned from any part of America before that of Columbus.*—

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This conclusion, however, does by no means warrant us in pronouncing that no vessel ever sailed thither from the ancient continent, either by accident or design, anterior to that period. That such instances did actually happen, and by what means, I shall now endeavour briefly to point out.

There is no circumstance in history better attested, than that frequent voyages from the Mediterranean along the African coast, on the Atlantic Ocean, were made, both by the Phenicians and Egyptians, many hundred years before the Christian era. It is true, that almost all the accounts which have been transmitted to us, in profane history, of those expeditions, are involved in obscurity, and intermixed with absurdity and fable ;—but it is the business of philosophy to separate, as much as possible, truth from falsehood ; and not hastily to conclude, because some circumstances are extravagant, that *all* are without foundation. We know from indisputable authority, that the Phenicians discovered the Azores, and visited even our own island before

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the Trojan war.* That their successors the Carthaginians, were not less distinguished for the spirit of naval enterprise, we may conclude from the celebrated expedition of Hanno ;† who, about 250 years before the birth of our Saviour, sailed along the African coast, until he came within five degrees of the line. It was the Carthaginians who discovered the Canary Islands, and it appears from the testimony of Pliny,‡ that they found in those islands the ruins of great buildings, (*vestigia Edificiorum*) a proof that they had been well inhabited in periods of which history is silent.

So far we have clear historical evidence to guide us in our researches. Not less clear and certain (though less numerous) are the accounts

* Procopius, secretary to Belisarius in the time of Justinian, mentions in his *Vandalica*, book ii. that there were then standing in Africa Tingitana, (Tangier) two columns erected by the Canaanites that fled from Joshua, the son of Nun. Eusebius also writes, that those Canaanites which were driven out by the Israelites conducted colonies to Tripoli, in Africa (*Bochart in Canaan, cap. xxiv.*)—that they navigated the Western Ocean (*cap. xxxvi.*) and were in Gaul and Britain (*cap. xlii.*) See also Sammes's *Phœnician History of Britain*.

† This was published with *Stephanus de Urbibus*, by Berkley, in 1688, and in the minor geographers at Oxford. I believe it was first published in Greek, by Sigismund Gelenius, who died in 1554.

‡ *Lib. vi. c. xxxii. de Fortunatis Insulis.*

of the Phenician navigation, down the Arabian Gulph, or Red Sea, to distant parts of Asia and Africa, in ages still more remote than those that have been mentioned. In the voyages undertaken by King Solomon, he employed the ships and mariners of that adventurous and commercial people. With their assistance he fitted out fleets from Ezion-geber, a port of the Red Sea, supposed to be the Berenice of the Greeks. Of those ships, some were bound for the western coast of the great Indian continent; others, there is reason to believe, turning towards Africa, passed the southern promontory, and returned home by the Mediterranean to the port of Joppa.

In support of this account of the flourishing state of ancient navigation in the Arabian Gulph, we have, first of all, the highest authority to refer to; that of the Scriptures. Next to which, we may rank the testimony of Herodotus, the father of profane history: the truth of whose well-known relation of a Phenician fleet doubling the Cape of Good Hope six hundred years before the birth of Christ, was never disputed, I believe, until our learned countryman, the author of the late American History, delivered it as his opinion, that "all the information
"we have received from the Greek and Roman
"authors, of the Phenician and Carthaginian
"voyages, excepting only the short narrative

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“ of Hanno’s expedition before-mentioned, is of
 “ suspicious authority.”*

I shall quote from Herodotus the passage alluded to, that the reader may judge for himself of the veracity of the venerable old Grecian. It is as follows. “ Libya is every where encircled by the sea, except on that side where it adjoins to Asia. Pharaoh Neco, king of Egypt,† made this manifest. After he had desisted from his project of digging a canal from the Nile to the Arabian Gulph, he furnished a body of Phenicians with ships, commanding them to enter the Northern Sea by the Pillars of Hercules ; and sail back by that route to Egypt. The Phenicians therefore sailing from the Red Sea navigated the Southern Ocean : at the end of autumn they anchored, and going ashore sowed the ground, *as those who make a Libyan voyage always do*, and staid the harvest. Having cut the corn, they sailed. Thus two years having elapsed, they returned to Egypt, passing by the Pillars of Hercules ; and they re-

* Robertson’s History of America, vol. i. p. 9.

† There were two kings of Egypt of this name. The second, who is generally supposed to have ordered the circumnavigation of Africa, was slain in battle by the Assyrians, I think under the command of Nebuchadnezzar ; but an ambiguous phrase in Herodotus, seems rather to point out the elder Neco, who was contemporary with Solomon.

“ported a circumstance which to me is not
 “credible, though it may gain belief from
 “others, *that sailing round Libya they had the*
 “*sun on the right.*”*

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Notwithstanding the doubts entertained by Dr. Robertson respecting this account, I perceive in it such evidence of truth, as to my own mind affords entire conviction.—How could it have been known unless from actual observation that Africa, towards the south, was encompassed by the sea? The caution with which the venerable historian expresses himself is remarkable; and the circumstance that the voyagers observed the meridian sun on the north, in sailing round Libya, which seemed an impossibility at a time when all between the tropics was deemed uninhabitable, is of itself decisive of the main fact.†

* Herod. Melpomene 48. In the former editions of my works, some mistakes were made in the translation of this passage, which were pointed out to me by the kindness of Henry James Pye, Esq. the poet Laureat, who assures me, that he has always considered the passage in question as an undeniable proof of the early doubling of the Cape of Good Hope. It was the opinion of Eratosthenes the cosmographer, that the outer sea flowed round the earth, and that the Western, or Atlantic and Red seas, were but one ocean. *Vide* Strabo, B. 1. p. 38. See also the same author, B. 1. p. 28, where it is asserted that Homer's Melanes circumnavigated Africa from Gades to India.

† This voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred years before that of Vasquez de Gama in 1497.

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Dr. Robertson has shewn, it is true, that many historians and geographers of antiquity, who lived long after the days of Herodotus, knew nothing concerning the form and state of the southern parts of Africa.—He observes particularly that Ptolemy, the astronomer, supposed that this great continent stretched without interruption to the South Pole. All this however only demonstrates that navigation, like many branches of science, flourished in one age, and declined in another. Herodotus lived 400 years before the birth of our Saviour, and Ptolemy 140 years after. Ancient history abundantly proves that the Phenicians and their successors the Carthaginians, possessed far greater skill in naval affairs than the Greeks, Romans, or any other nation that came after them, until the spirit of naval discovery revived, and shone with greater lustre than ever in the fifteenth century.

From this recapitulation which I have thought necessary to make, though the substance of it may be found in a thousand different authors, (commonly blended indeed with much learned absurdity and frivolous conjecture) the reader will clearly perceive that the navigation of the Atlantic ocean along the coast of Africa, both from the north and the south, and even at a considerable distance from the land, was well understood and prevailed in very remote ages.

Now if we inquire into the nature of the winds and currents on the African coast, and reflect on the various casualties to which ships at sea are liable, even in the most favourable season of the year, we must admit that it not only probably happened in some of those ancient expeditions, but even that *it was scarce possible not to happen*, that vessels would be driven by sudden gusts, or carried by adverse currents within the verge of the trade-wind; in which case if they happened to lose their masts, they must necessarily run before the wind towards Brasil or the West Indies.

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Two remarkable accidents of this nature, precisely in point, are recorded by writers of credit, and doubtless there are many other instances equally authenticated that have escaped my research. The first is related by Captain Glass, in his history of the Canary Islands, who observes that a small bark, bound from Lancerota to Teneriffe, was thus forced out of her course, and obliged to run before the wind until she came within two days' sail of the coast of Caraccas, where she fortunately met with an English cruiser which relieved her distresses, and directed her to the port of La Guaira on that coast. The other is told by Gumill, as follows. "In December 1731," says this author, "while I was at the town of St. Joseph, "in Trinidad, a small vessel belonging to Tene-

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“ riffe, with six seamen, was driven into that
 “ island by stress of weather. She was laden
 “ with wine, and being bound to one other of
 “ the Canary Islands, had provisions for a few
 “ days only, which with their utmost care had
 “ been expended a considerable time, so that
 “ the crew lived entirely on wine. They were
 “ reduced to the last extremity, and expected
 “ death every moment, when they discovered
 “ Trinidad; and soon afterwards came to an
 “ anchor in that island, to the great astonish-
 “ ment of the inhabitants; who ran in crowds
 “ to behold the poor seamen, whose ema-
 “ ciated appearance would have sufficiently
 “ confirmed the truth of their relation, even if
 “ the papers and documents which they pro-
 “ duced had not put the matter out of all
 “ possible doubt.”

To the preceding instances it may be added;
 that Columbus himself, in his second expedition
 to the West Indies, found the stern-post of a
 vessel lying on the shore at Guadaloupe; a cir-
 cumstance which affords a strong presumption
 that a ship had been in the New World before
 him.

Under this head of fortuitous visits to the
 American continent prior to that of Columbus,
 may likewise be included the circumstance
 mentioned by Martyr, that at a place called
 Quarequa, in the Gulph of Darien, Vascho

Nunez met with *a colony of negroes*.* The inquiry (if any was made) by what means they came into that region, or how long they had resided in it, and the answers to such questions, are not recorded by the Spanish historians; but from the smallness of their number, it was supposed they had not been long arrived upon that coast. There can be no doubt that some accidental cause had conducted them thither from Africa, and in *open canoes*, of no better construction than those of the American Indians.†

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* Mancipia ibi nigra reppererunt ex regione distante à Quarequa, dierum spatio tantùm duorum quæ solos gignit nigritas et eos feroces atque admodùm truces.—*P. Martyr, Decad. iii. c. i.*

† Such accidents in truth, are common in all parts of the world. The inhabitants of Java report their origin to have been from China; the tradition among them being that, 850 years ago, their progenitors were driven by a tempest upon that island in a Chinese junk: and we owe the European discovery of Japan to three Portuguese exiles who were shipwrecked there in 1542. I believe that ships bound from Europe to the East Indies, at a certain season of the year generally make for the southern coast of Brasil, in order to fall in with the westerly monsoon, which enables them either to reach the Cape of Good Hope, or pursue their route by Madagascar; for while the eastern monsoon prevails they are constantly baffled in their attempts to double the Cape, and are driven to leeward towards the coast of South America. In the year 1626, when Sir Dodmore Cotton was sent on an embassy to the Persian court, the fleet in which he sailed was forced by contrary winds within a few leagues of the

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The reader will now perhaps conclude, that Dr. Robertson pronounced too hastily, when he observed “that such events, (as those that I “have mentioned) are barely possible, and *may* “have happened; but that they ever did hap- “pen, we have no evidence, either from the “clear testimony of history, or the obscure inti- “mations of tradition.” This declaration is the more unexpected, as the learned author had a little before related the circumstance of the accidental discovery of Brasil by the Portuguese, in the year 1500. “The successful voyage of “Gama to the East Indies,” observes the histo- rian, “having encouraged the King of Portugal “to fit out a fleet, so powerful, as not only to “carry on trade, but to attempt conquest; he “gave the command of it to Pedro Alvarez Ca- “bral. In order to avoid the coast of Africa, “where he was certain of meeting with variable “breezes or frequent calms to retard his voyage, “Cabral strood out to sea, and kept so far to “the west, that to his surprise he found himself “upon the shore of an unknown country, in the

island of Trinidad, in the West Indies. Sir Thomas Her- bert, in his account of this voyage, relates that “on the “first of June, when they were by observation in 24° 43’ “south latitude, they met with many sudden gusts and “storms which rendered them unable to pursue their “course, and drove them to leeward 100 leagues upon “the coast of Brasil.”

“tenth degree beyond the line. He imagined
“at first that it was some island in the Atlantic
“ocean hitherto unobserved; but proceeding
“along its coasts for several days, he was led
“gradually to believe that a country so extensive
“formed a part of some great continent. This
“latter opinion was well founded. The country
“with which he fell in belongs to that province
“in South America now known by the name of
“Brasil. He landed; and having formed a very
“high idea of the fertility of the soil and agree-
“ableness of the climate, he took possession of
“it for the crown of Portugal, and dispatched a
“ship to Lisbon with an account of this event,
“which appeared to be no less important than
“it was unexpected. Columbus’s discovery of
“the New World was the effort of an active
“genius, enlightened by science, guided by ex-
“perience, and acting upon a regular plan, exe-
“cuted with no less courage than perseverance.
“But from this adventure of the Portuguese, it
“appears that chance might have accomplished
“that great design, which it is now the pride of
“human reason to have formed and perfected.
“If the sagacity of Columbus had not conducted
“mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate
“accident, might have led them, a few years
“later, to the knowledge of that extensive con-
“tinent.”*

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* Hist. America, vol. i. p. 151.

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And certainly, by some such accident, in ages long passed, might the ancient Hemisphere have given a beginning to population in the new; or at least have sent thither the progenitors of that separate race of people of which I now treat. It remains for me, however, to assign my reasons for particularly applying this conclusion to the Charaibes, instead of any other of the numerous tribes which inhabit the eastern side of the immense continent of South America.

The migration of any people is best traced by their language; but there is this inconveniency attending this species of evidence, that in reducing a language merely oral to writing, different persons even of the same nation, would sometimes unavoidably represent the same sound by a very different arrangement of letters;—much more frequently would this happen, should the writers be of distant countries, and consequently habituated to various modes of pronunciation and orthography;—but although I am of opinion therefore that vocabularies preserved by voyagers, seldom afford much certainty of information on a comparison with each other; there are, nevertheless, in every language, many words of which the sound is too simple to be easily misunderstood, or grossly misrepresented.

Thus on comparing the Charaibe vocabulary, preserved by Rochefort, with the ancient oriental

dialects,\* it is scarce possible to doubt that the following words used by the Charaibes, had their origin in the Old Hemisphere, and we may readily believe that many instances of a similar nature might be adduced, but for the cause I have assigned, namely, the different modes which different persons would necessarily adopt, each according to his own perception of the sound, of reducing the same words to writing; thus creating a perplexity which it is now too late to disentangle.

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| <i>Charabbe.</i> | <i>Meaning in French,<br/>according to Rochefort.</i> | <i>Words having the same mean-<br/>ing in the Oriental dialects.</i> | <i>Meaning in English</i>          |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Liani            | Sa femme                                              | לי הנה [Li Hene]                                                     | His wife                           |
| Yene-neri        | Ma femme                                              | חנה הרה ני [Hene Hera ni]                                            | My wife                            |
| Hac yeté         | Venez ici Sam.                                        | אָמאָ אַטִי [Aca ati]                                                | Come hither                        |
| Karbet           | Maison publique                                       | קיר בית [Qir] or קרא בית [Qra] or Bit]                               | Walled house<br>Assembly house     |
| Encka            | Collier                                               | ענק [Onq]                                                            | Necklace or col-<br>[lar]          |
| Yene kali        | Mon collier                                           | חענק אלי [E'Onq ali]                                                 | My necklace                        |
| Hue-Hue          | Du bois                                               | עא [Oa]                                                              | Wood                               |
| Nora             | Ma peau                                               | עור ני [Oü ni]                                                       | My skin                            |
| Nané-guacte      | Je suis malade                                        | נאנעחתי [Nanecheti]                                                  | I am sick                          |
| Halea tibou      | Sois le bien                                          | יהא לי עתיבו [Yeha li e thi-<br>[venu bou]                           | Good be to you                     |
| Phoubae          | Soufflé                                               | פוח [Phouhe]                                                         | To blow                            |
| Toubana ora      | Couverture d'un                                       | די בנה עור [Di BneOüi]                                               | Roof of a house                    |
| Bayou boukaa     | Va t'en                                               | בוא בואך [Bona Bouak]                                                | Go thy way                         |
| Baika            | Mange                                                 | בגה [Bge]                                                            | Eat                                |
| Aika             | Manger                                                | אכל [Akl]                                                            | To eat                             |
| Nichiri          | Mon nez                                               | נהר [Noheri]                                                         | The nose                           |
| Natoni boman     | Donnez-moi                                            | נתני ב אמן [Natoui bamen]                                            | Give me nou-<br>[a boire rishment. |

\* For this illustration, and other assistance in the course of this inquiry, I am indebted to a learned friend; by whom

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To the proofs arising from language, I shall add the following.—We have seen from Herodotus, that the Phenicians in their African voyages were accustomed to land on the Arabian and Lybian coasts, and taking possession of a spot of ground fit for their purpose, they proceeded to plough up and sow it with corn, and waited until it came to maturity;—thus providing themselves with food for a long navigation. This practice must doubtless have given rise to disputes and conflicts between the intruders and the inhabitants. Now it is remarkable that the word *Charaibe*, in the Arabic language, signifies, as I am informed, *a robber or destroyer*, an appellation which we may believe was frequently bestowed by the natives on the invaders of their country.\*

I am informed (being myself unacquainted with the oriental languages) that the Samaritan, and old Phenician, the Syriac, Chaldee, and Hebrew, are all dialects of one language; differing but little from each other, except in their letters. The Hebrew agrees less with the other dialects than the rest, but is now printed in the same character with the Chaldee. They all form a noun in the same manner except the Hebrew, which prefixes ש (S) to form the genitive case, and את (at) to form the accusative; all the others use ד (D) and י (it).

\* Leri, and some others, speak of the *Charaibes* as priests or prophets found in Brasil. Rochefort makes *Charaibe* a national name. These words are oriental, sounding alike, but spelt differently, and of a different meaning: the priests may be called אֱלֹהִים קָרְבָּן as men who offer קָרְבָּן

The testimony arising from a similarity of manners, though far less conclusive than the evidence of language, is surely, in the present case, not without its force. That many of the customs of the eastern nations prevailed among the Charaibes, I have, I think, sufficiently demonstrated in the second chapter of this work. Of some of those customs, the resemblance was probably fortuitous, and a similarity of climate and situation might have given rise to others; but when very singular and arbitrary practices prevail between distant nations, which are neither founded in nature nor climate, nor proceed from situation and rank in the scale of refinement, the coincidence can scarcely be deemed accidental. Thus among other customs equally remarkable, it has been related that the Charaibes buried their dead in a cowering posture, with their knees to the chin. The very same custom prevails at this day in the Sandwich Islands of the South Sea,\* the inhabitants of which are, beyond all doubt, of

an offering: *κορσας* is the Greek word for a priest of Cybele, *unde* CORYBANTES, לִי יִקְרִיב מִכֶּם קֹרְבָן לַיהוָה Leviticus, i. 2. But if the national name be derived from their warlike and predatory way of life, then we may derive it from כָּרַח the verb Chaldee, Syr. Arab. *to lay waste*. The noun signifies a sword or spear, and מִלְחָמָה Sam. *War*. This explanation was given me by the friend mentioned in the preceding note.

\* Ledyard's MSS. *penes me*.

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eastern origin ; and that it was an ancient practice of the eastern nations appears from the authorities of Herodotus and Cicero ; the former recording the existence of it among the Nasamones, a people who inhabited the countries between Egypt and Carthage ; and the latter relating the same circumstance of the ancient Persians. I am inclined to believe that this practice prevailed also in the country and age of the patriarchs ;—for how otherwise are we to understand the scripture phrase of GATHERING UP THE FEET OF THE DYING ? “ *And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons,* “ HE GATHERED UP HIS FEET INTO THE BED, “ and yielded up the ghost.”\*

Many other corresponding circumstances may be traced in Herodotus. Thus when he enumerates the army of Xerxes, he observes of the ancient Ethiopians, that they used bows and arrows in battle, and painted their bodies with crimson.† The coincidence between these people and the Charaibes in both these respects, can hardly, I think, be ascribed to chance, and it is such as instinct could not have produced.

Equally prevalent among the Charaibes, and many of the ancient nations in the eastern part of the Old Hemisphere, were the supersti-

\* Gen. c. xlix. v. 33.

† Book ii.

tious rites of shortening the hair and wounding the body, in religious ceremonies and lamentations for the dead. That these practices were usual among the heathens, so early as the days of Moses, is evident from the injunction which the Lord laid on the children of Israel to avoid them. “*Ye shall not round the corners of your head, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard. Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you.*”\* Again,—“*Ye are the children of the Lord, your God: Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead.*”† Among the heathens however the same ceremonies were still continued; for in Samaria, in the days of Ahab, king of Israel, it is recorded of the prophets of Baal that, in worshipping their idol, “*they cried aloud and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lances till the blood gushed out upon them.*”‡ At this day the Islanders of the South Sea express grief and lamentation for the dead in the very same manner.

But perhaps the instance the most apposite and illustrative, was the habit among the Charibes of chewing the *betele*, preparing it with

\* Levit. c. xix. v. 27.

† Deut. c. xiv. v. 1.

‡ 1 Kings, c. xviii. v. 28.

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I.  
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calcined shells precisely after the manner of the Indians in the East;—a circumstance which, though recorded by P. Martyr,* had escaped my researches, until it was pointed out to me by Mr. Long. Some other resemblances, almost equally striking, might be collected; but the reader will probably think that more than enough has already been said on a subject, the investigation of which he may perhaps deem a mere matter of idle curiosity, neither contributing to the improvement of science, nor the comfort of life.

Here then I conclude: an attempt to trace back the Charaibes of the West Indies to their progenitors, the first emigrants from the ancient hemisphere, in order to point out, with any degree of precision or probability, the era of their migration, were (like the voyages I have been describing) to venture on a vast and unknown ocean without a compass;—and even without one friendly star to guide us through the night of conjecture.

* Decad. viii. c. vi.

BOOK II.

JAMAICA.*

CHAPTER I.

Discovery of Jamaica by Columbus.—His return in 1503.—Spirited proceedings of his son Diego, after Columbus's death.—Takes possession of Jamaica in 1509.—Humane conduct of Juan de Esquivel, the first Governor.—Establishment and desertion of the town of Seville Nueva.—Destruction of the Indians.—St. Jago de la Vega founded.—Gives the title of Marquis to Diego's son Lewis, to whom the Island is granted in

* It may be proper to observe, that the governor of Jamaica is styled in his commission Captain-General, &c. of Jamaica and the territories thereon depending in America. By these DEPENDENCIES were meant the British settlements on the Musquito-shore, and in the bay of Honduras: but his jurisdiction over those settlements having

perpetual sovereignty.—Descends to his sister Isabella, who conveys her rights by marriage to the House of Braganza.—Reverts to the crown of Spain, in 1640.—Sir Anthony Shirley invades the Island in 1596, and Colonel Jackson in 1638.

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II.



JAMAICA has the honour of being discovered by Christopher Columbus, in his second expedition to the New World. In his former voyage he had explored the north-eastern part of Cuba, proceeding from thence to Hispaniola; but he had returned to Europe in doubt whether Cuba was an island only, or

been imperfectly defined, was seldom acknowledged by the settlers; except, when they wished to plead it in bar of the authority claimed by their respective superintendants. On such occasions they admitted a superior jurisdiction in the governor of Jamaica, and applied to him for commissions civil and military. As both the settlements were surrendered to the crown of Spain by the Spanish convention signed at London on the 14th of July 1786, it comes not within the plan of my work to enter on a display of their past or present state. I formerly drew up a memorial concerning the settlement on the Musquito-shore, wherein an account was given of the country, its inhabitants and productions, and the question between Great Britain and Spain, as to the territorial right, pretty fully discussed. This memorial having been laid before the House of Commons in 1777 (by Governor Johnstone) was soon afterwards published in Almon's Parliamentary Register for that year.

part of some great continent, of which he had received obscure accounts from the natives. To satisfy himself in this particular, he determined, soon after his arrival a second time at Hispaniola, on another voyage to Cuba by a south-westerly course, and, in pursuance of this resolution, on the 24th of April, 1494, Columbus sailed from the Port of Isabella, with one ship and two shallops. On Tuesday the 29th, he anchored in the harbour of St. Nicholas. From thence he crossed over to Cuba, and coasted along the southern side of that island, surrounded by many thousand canoes filled with Indians whom curiosity and admiration had brought together. In this navigation, on Saturday the third of May, he discovered, for the first time, the high lands of Jamaica on the left, and probably learnt its name (the name which it still retains) from some of the Indians that followed him.* As this was a new discovery, and many of the seamen were willing to believe that it was the place to which they had been formerly directed by the Indians of the Bahamah Islands, as the country most abounding in gold, Columbus was easily per-

* P. Martyr. F. Columbus. The early Spanish historians wrote the word *Xaymaca*. It is said to have signified, in the language of the natives, a *country abounding in springs*. Columbus having at first named the island *St. Jago*, Oldmixon, and some other writers, erroneously suppose that *Jamaica* was the augmentative of *James*.

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II.

suaded to turn his course towards it. He approached it the next day, and, after a slight contest with the natives, which ended however in a cordial reconciliation, he took possession of the country, with the usual formalities.

But it was not until the fourth and last voyage of Columbus, a voyage undertaken by this great navigator, after he had suffered a severe trial from the base ingratitude of the Country and Prince in whose service he laboured, than from all his past toils, dangers and inquietudes, that he learnt more of Jamaica ; which, as it had the honour of being first discovered by him nine years before, had now the still greater honour of affording him shelter from shipwreck. For on the 24th of June, 1503, being on his return to Hispaniola, from Veragua, he met with such tempestuous weather as compelled him, after losing two of his ships, to bear away in the utmost distress for this island. With great difficulty, he reached a little harbour on the north side* where he was forced to run aground the two vessels that were left him, to prevent their foundering. By this disaster, his ships were damaged beyond the possibility of repair, and he had now the melancholy reflection that his miseries and his life would probably terminate together. During the space of twelve months and four days, that he remained in this

* Called to this day, *Don Christopher's Cove*.

CHAP.

I.

wretched situation, he had new dangers to surmount, and unaccustomed trials for the exercise of his fortitude. His people revolted, the Indians deserted him, and the Governor of Hispaniola not only refused to relieve, but, with monstrous and unexampled barbarity, aggravated his misfortunes by outrage and mockery. All these occurrences however, the dexterity with which he availed himself of the superstition of the Indians by the circumstance of an eclipse, and the means whereby his deliverance was at length effected, having been recounted by a thousand different historians, need not be repeated by me. The hardships he suffered on this occasion, and his Sovereign's ingratitude together, proved too mighty for his generous spirit: he sunk under them, soon after his return to Spain; leaving a name which will not be extinguished, but with that world whose boundaries he had extended.*

* There is preserved among the Journals of the Hon. Council in Jamaica, a very old volume in MS. consisting of diaries and reports of Governors, which relate chiefly to the proceedings of the army and other transactions in the first settlement of the colony. In this book is to be found the translation of a letter to the King of Spain, said to be written by Columbus during his confinement on this island. As it appears to me to bear marks of authenticity, I shall present it to my readers. It was written probably about eight months after the departure of his messenger Diego Mendez, who had attempted to reach Hispaniola in an Indian canoe. Hearing nothing

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After the death of this illustrious discoverer, the transactions of the Spaniards, during a century and a half, in the settlement of Jamaica,

from him in that interval, Columbus seems to have relinquished every hope of relief, and to have written this letter in an hour of despondency, not as having any probable means of sending it to Spain, but on the idea that it would be found after his death.—It is as follows :

A Letter from CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, in Jamaica,
to King FERDINAND.

Jamaica, 1504.

“ Diego Mendes, and the papers I sent by him, will show your Highness what rich mines of gold I have discovered in Veragua, and how I intended to have left my brother at the river Belin, if the judgments of Heaven and the greatest misfortunes in the world had not prevented it. However it is sufficient that your Highness and your successors will have the glory and advantage of all, and that the full discovery and settlement are reserved for happier persons than the unfortunate Columbus. If God be so merciful to me as to conduct Mendes to Spain, I doubt not but he will convince your Highness and my great mistress that this will not only be a *Castile and Leon*, but a discovery of a world of subjects, lands and wealth, greater than man's unbounded fancy could ever comprehend, or avarice itself covet : but neither he, this paper, nor the tongue of mortal man, can express the anguish and afflictions of my body and mind ; nor the misery and dangers of my son, brother and friends ! Already have we been confined ten months in this place, lodged on the open decks of our ships, that are run on shore and lashed together ; those of my men that were in

have scarcely obtained the notice of history. CHAP.

Happy indeed it would have been for their national character, if the records of many of their

health have mutinied under the Porras's of Seville, my friends that were faithful are mostly sick and dying, we have consumed the Indians' provisions, so that they abandon us ; all therefore are like to perish by hunger, and these miseries are accompanied with so many aggravating circumstances, that render me the most wretched object of misfortune, this world shall ever see ; as if the displeasure of Heaven seconded the envy of Spain, and would punish as criminal those undertakings and discoveries which former ages would have acknowledged as great and meritorious actions ! Good Heaven, and you holy saints that dwell in it, let the King Don Ferdinand and my illustrious mistress Donna Isabella know, that my zeal for their service and interest hath brought me thus low ; for it is impossible to live and have afflictions equal to mine. I see, and with horror apprehend, my own, and, for my sake, my unfortunate and deserving people's destruction. Alas, piety and justice have retired to their habitations above, and it is a crime to have undertaken and performed too much ! As my misery makes my life a burthen to myself, so I fear the empty titles of Vice-Roy and Admiral render me obnoxious to the hatred of the Spanish nation. It is visible that all methods are adopted to cut the thread that is breaking ; for I am, in my old age, oppressed with insupportable pains of the gout, and am now languishing and expiring with that and other infirmities, among savages, where I have neither medicines nor provisions for the body, priest nor sacrament for the soul. My men in a state of revolt, my brother, my son, and those that are faithful, sick, starving and dying ; the Indians have abandoned us, and the Governor of St. Domingo has sent rather to see if I am dead, than to succour

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more extensive enterprises, during the same period, were veiled in equal darkness, or consigned to everlasting oblivion : happier still, if their

us, or carry me alive from hence ; for his boat neither delivered a letter, nor spoke with, nor would receive any letter from us ; so I conclude your Highness's officers intend that here my voyages and life should terminate. O blessed mother of God, that compassionates the miserable and oppressed, why did not cruel Bovadilla kill me when he robbed me and my brother of our dearly purchased gold, and sent us to Spain in chains without trial, crime, or shadow of misconduct ? These chains are all the treasures I have, and they shall be buried with me, if I chance to have a coffin or grave ; for I would have the remembrance of so unjust an action perish with me, and, for the glory of the Spanish name, be eternally forgotten. Let it not bring a further infamy on the Castilian name, nor let future ages know, there were wretches so vile in this, that think to recommend themselves to your majesty by destroying the unfortunate and miserable Christopher Columbus ; not for his crimes, but for his services in discovering and giving Spain a new world. As it was Heaven itself that inspired and conducted me to it, the Heavens will weep for me, and show pity ! Let the earth, and every soul in it, that loves justice and mercy, weep for me ! And you, O glorified saints of God, that know my innocence and see my sufferings here, have mercy ! for though this present age is envious or obdurate, surely those that are to come will pity me, when they are told that Christopher Columbus, with his own fortune ran the hazard of his own and his brother's lives, and, with little or no expense to the Crown of Spain, in ten years and four voyages, rendered greater services than ever mortal man did to prince or kingdom, yet was left to perish, without being charged with the least crime, in

splendour had been transmitted to posterity through a purer medium, and not, as now, serving chiefly to render visible the vices and enormities that surround and debase them!

CHAP.

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The few particulars of their progress which, by diligent selection, aided by traditionary memorials, I have been able to collect, I shall now present to my readers.

About seventeen years had elapsed after the Spaniards had first fixed themselves in Hispaniola, before they seem to have entertained any

poverty and misery; all but his chains being taken from him; so that he who gave Spain another world, had neither safety in it, nor yet a cottage for himself, nor his wretched family: but, should Heaven still persecute me, and seem displeased with what I have done, as if the discovery of this new world may be fatal to the old, and as a punishment bring my life to a period in this miserable place, yet do you, good angels, you that can succour the oppressed and innocent, bring this paper to my great mistress. She knows how much I have done, and will believe what I have suffered for her glory and service, and will be so just and pious as not to let the children of him that has brought to Spain such immense riches, and added to it vast and unknown kingdoms and empires, want bread, or subsist only on alms. She, if she lives, will consider that cruelty and ingratitude will bring down the wrath of Heaven, so that the wealth I have discovered, shall be the means of stirring up all mankind to revenge and rapine, and the Spanish nation suffer hereafter, for what envious, malicious and ungrateful people do now."

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serious design of sending forth a colony to possess itself of Jamaica. As this island had hitherto produced neither gold nor silver, it seems to have been neglected as unworthy further notice; and perhaps it might have continued a few years longer the peaceful seat of innocent simplicity, but for the base ingratitude of King Ferdinand, towards the family of Columbus. This great man, after his return to Spain, in 1504, was compelled to employ the close of his days in fruitless and irksome solicitation at the court of an unthankful and unfeeling monarch; who meanly suffered him to be cruelly defrauded of the rights and privileges originally granted to him, and which he had so dearly and so nobly earned. His son Diego, the heir of his fortunes, succeeded to the same debasing necessity, till, at length, wearied out with frivolous and unprincely excuses, he instituted a memorable process against his sovereign before the council of the Indies at Seville; and this court, with a firmness and virtue that cannot be sufficiently applauded, decided in favour of his pretensions. After a minute and solemn investigation of his claims, the council pronounced him hereditary viceroy and high admiral of all the countries and islands discovered by his father. They decreed, that he was invested with a jurisdiction over them similar to that of the high admiral of Castile; that he

was entitled to a tenth part of all the gold and silver that might thereafter be found in those territories; and they adjudged him various other privileges and immunities, of vast extent and authority. But the king, notwithstanding this distinguished and competent recognition of his rights, confirmed to him only the title and authority of governor and admiral of Hispaniola; and even of this diminished command, it is probable he would have been deprived, if he had not fortunately strengthened his interest by an illustrious marriage.* The gallant youth, nevertheless, still boldly persisted in his claim to the full exercise of all the rights and authority, which had been so recently decreed to belong to him; and he shortly afterwards, accompanied by a numerous and splendid retinue, embarked for his government, resolved to enforce his pretensions.

He arrived in Hispaniola in the month of July, 1508, but had very soon the mortification to discover that the king had actually invested in two other persons (Alonzo de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuesa) not only two separate and distinct governments, which comprehended all the continent as far as it had been discovered

* He married *Mary de Toledo* daughter to *Ferdinand de Toledo*, grand commander of Leon, who was brother to *Frederic* duke of *Alva*.

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II.


by Christopher Columbus, but had also included the Island of Jamaica, as a joint appendage within the jurisdiction of each. These appointments Diego Columbus considered as a manifest violation of his own rights, and strenuously contended for the exclusive privilege of nominating, in particular, to the governments of Veragua and Jamaica, the prior discovery of both those countries by his father being a circumstance of universal notoriety. To secure his claim to Jamaica, in the month of November 1509, he sent thither Juan de Esquivel, with about seventy men. Esquivel had acquired the reputation of a gallant goldier, and it is still more to his honour, that he was one of the very few Castilians, who, amidst all the horrors of bloodshed and infectious rapine, were distinguished for generosity and humanity. An eminent instance of his greatness of mind is recorded by Herrera.—About the time that he sailed from Hispaniola to take possession of his new government of Jamaica, his competitor Ojeda was on his departure to the continent. Ojeda violently opposed the intended expedition of Esquivel, and publicly threatened that if he should find him at Jamaica on his return from the continent, he would hang him up as a rebel. It happened that Ojeda's voyage was unfortunate in the highest degree; for, after sustaining a series



of unexampled calamities, he was shipwrecked on the Coast of Cuba, and was in danger of miserably perishing for want of food. In his distress he called to mind that Esquivel was in Jamaica, and he was now reduced to the sad extremity of imploring succour from the very man whose destruction he had meditated; but the magnanimous Esquivel was no sooner made acquainted with the sufferings of his enemy, than he forgot all his resentment. He immediately sent over to Cuba, Pedro de Narvez, an officer of rank, to conduct Ojeda to Jamaica. Esquivel received him with the tenderest sympathy, treated him, during his stay, with every possible mark of distinction and respect, and provided him with the means of a speedy and safe conveyance to Hispaniola. It is pleasing to add, that Ojeda was not ungrateful to his benefactor.

Under such a man it is reasonable to suppose that the yoke of subjection sat light and easy on the natives of Jamaica, and that the ravages of conquest were restrained within the limits of humanity. Accordingly, the Spanish historians bear the most honourable testimony to his virtuous and gentle administration.—
 “The affairs of Jamaica,” says Herrera, “went
 “on prosperously, because Juan de Esquivel
 “having brought the natives to submission
 “*without any effusion of blood*, they laboured

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“ in planting cotton, and raising other commodities which yielded great profit.” This praise is the more valuable because it is almost peculiar to Esquivel, who alone seems to have been sensible of the abominable wickedness of visiting distant lands only to desolate them ; and of converting the Indians to Christianity by cutting their throats. How many noble qualities, in some of his cotemporaries, were tarnished by cruelty and rapine, or unhappily blended with a misguided and frantic zeal for religion, that rendered their possessors still more remorseless and savage !

Esquivel continued in his office but a few years. He died in his government, and was buried at *Sevilla Nueva*, a town which he had founded. He was probably succeeded by governors of a far different character, who, it is to be feared, soon began to spread among the wretched natives the same horrible carnage that was now desolating Hispaniola. It appears that Francis de Garay held the chief command in 1523, since in that year he fitted out an expedition from this island for the conquest of Panuco, a territory which Cortes, unknown to Garay, had already annexed to the Spanish dominion. In this expedition were employed nine ships and two brigantines, and there were embarked in it 850 Spaniards, and a considerable body of Jamaica Indians, and 144 horses.



Such a force, if collected chiefly within the island, proves that a great progress had been made in its settlement and population during the thirteen years that the Spaniards had been in possession of it. As Esquivel had established the seat of government near to the spot which had been honoured by the residence of Columbus after his shipwreck in 1503, it may be presumed that the town of Sevilla Nueva was now become of some consideration. This town, as we are informed by Herrera, was founded on the site of an ancient Indian village, called *Maima*,* and near to the port named by Columbus Santa Gloria (now St. Ann's Harbour;) and the daily accession of new inhabitants would naturally extend the boundaries of the capital, till the rude village, consisting at first of a few temporary huts, must have increased to a place of importance. Religion too, in all the Spanish territories, very soon forced architecture into her service; for, by a lamentable inconsistency in the human mind, these de-

* *Quasi MAMEE.* There is a bay a little to the eastward, which is called at this hour *Mamee Bay*. The ground on which *Sevilla Nueva* was built, is now chiefly the property of Mr. Heming, who has a large sugar plantation thereon. It is called *Seville Plantation*: and the ruins of the ancient town are still visible in some of the cane-fields. It descended to him from his ancestor Captain Hemíng, an officer in Cromwell's army.

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II.


stroyers of their fellow-creatures were wonderfully exact in the observance of all the outward ceremonies of divine worship. With hands yet reeking in the blood of murdered innocence, they could erect temples to the Almighty, and implore that mercy from Heaven, which they had just denied to the miserable victims of their cruelty and rapine. Among other costly buildings a cathedral and monastery were designed, and the foundations of both were visible not long ago, as many of the ruins are at this day. Peter Martyr of Angleria, the author of the Decades, was appointed abbot and chief missionary of the island. A fort was also erected, the remains of which, as well as of the cathedral, were inspected by Sloane in 1688, who relates, that a pavement was discovered at the distance of two miles from the church ; a circumstance that may give us some idea of the extent of the city in the days of its prosperity. The west gate of the cathedral stood entire in 1688, and displayed, in the judgment of Sloane, very excellent workmanship ; but it was his opinion that the building was never completed ; for he observed several arched stones that must have been designed for it, which apparently had never been put up.* He likewise dis-

* " Over the door (of the west gate) was a carving of our Saviour's head with a crown of thorns between two

covered, in the same condition, materials for a capital mansion, probably intended for the palace of the governor. From these circumstances the tradition which still prevails in the island, that the Spanish inhabitants of Seville were at some period, in their wars with the natives, entirely and suddenly cut off, is probably founded in truth. Sloane, indeed, relates that some of the Spanish planters, who had retired to Cuba, assigned very different reasons for the desertion of this part of the country, alleging, that a visitation of innumerable ants had destroyed all their provision grounds, and that the situation of the capital was ill adapted for the purposes of their commerce. These reasons might possibly have operated against the re-establishment of the place; but were not, I think, of sufficient efficacy to induce a whole body of people, the inhabitants of a growing capital, suddenly to remove their families and effects, and voluntarily submit to the labour of

angels; on the right side a small round figure of some saint, *with a knife stuck into his head*. On the left a Virgin Mary or Madona, her arm tied in three places, Spanish fashion. Over the gate, under a coat of arms this inscription.

“ Petrus. Martir. Ab. Angleria. Italus. Civis. Mediolanen.
Prothon. Apos. Hujus. Insule. Abbas, Senatus. Indici.
Consiliarius. Ligneam. Primus. Ædem. Hanc. Bis.
Igne. Consumptam Latericio. Et. Quadrato. Lapide.
Primus. A. Fundamentis. Etruxit.”

SLOANE.

BOOK
II.

building an entire new town, in a very distant and wholly uncultivated part of the country.* It is certain, that the town of Seville was not suffered to fall gradually to decay ; but was depopulated while it was yet in an unfinished state, many years before the conquest of the island by the English.† Neither (if this tradition of its catastrophe were true) could a just account be expected from the descendants of men who had deservedly brought destruction on themselves ; since the recital of their fate would again have brought the deeds also of their ancestors to remembrance, and they were deeds of darkness, too mournful to contemplate ; too dreadful to be told !

* It is remarkable, however, that the whole island of Hispaniola was nearly destroyed by ants about the same period. In 1519, and the two succeeding years, as Oviedo relates, these insects over-ran that island like an Egyptian plague ; devouring all the roots and plants of the earth, so that the country was nearly depopulated. In our own times, the island of Grenada has suffered prodigiously from the same cause, of which some account will hereafter be given.

† See the account of Jamaica transmitted to Cromwell by General Venables, preserved in Thurloe's state papers, vol. iii. p. 545, wherein he speaks of Seville as a town *that had existed in times past*. And Sloane relates that when the English took the island, the ruins of this city were overgrown with wood and turned black with age. He saw timber-trees growing within the walls of the cathedral, upwards of sixty feet in height. *Sloane's Hist. Jamaica*, vol. i. p. 66.

Both ancient tradition, and recent discoveries, give too much room to believe that the work of destruction proceeded no less rapidly in this island, after Esquivel's death, than in Hispaniola; for to this day caves are frequently discovered in the mountains, wherein the ground is covered with human bones; the miserable remains, without all doubt, of some of the unfortunate aborigines, who, immured in those recesses, were probably reduced to the sad alternative of perishing with hunger, or bleeding under the swords of their merciless invaders.* When, therefore, we are told of the fate of the Spanish inhabitants of Seville, it is impossible to feel any other emotion than an indignant wish that the story were better authenticated, and that Heaven in mercy had permitted the poor Indians in the same moment to have extirpated their oppressors altogether! But unhappily this faint glimmering of returning light to the wretched natives, was soon lost in everlasting darkness, since it pleased the Almighty, for reasons inscrutable to finite wisdom, to permit the total destruction of this devoted people; who, to the number of 60,000, on the most moderate estimate, were at length wholly cut off and exterminated by the Spa-

* It is discovered by the skulls, which are preternaturally compressed, that these are the skeletons of the Indians.

BOOK niards, not a single descendant of either sex
 II. being alive when the English took the island in
 ~~~~~ 1655, nor, I believe, for a century before.\*

\* There is said to exist on the south side of the island of Cuba, at this day, a small remnant of the ancient Indians. They reside in a little town near St. Jago de Cuba, called *Iwanee*, and have adopted the manners and language of the Spaniards. The destruction of such prodigious numbers of these innocent people by the first discoverers, is one of the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of mankind, and the subject can never be contemplated but with blended sentiments of indignation and horror, commiseration and sympathy. Emotions of this kind gave rise to the following *night scene* (part of an unfinished work, which will probably never be completed) and its insertion in this place the poetical reader may possibly pardon :

————— Now on high  
 Refulgent Venus and the starry train,  
 Spangle the vivid hemisphere. Around  
 Myriads of insect-meteors,\* living lamps,  
 People the glittering air. A fairy world  
 I tread : a land of genii ! Airy shapes,  
 Oft visible to contemplation's eye,  
 Roam in the midnight hour these sacred shades ;  
 Nor unobserved, while now the starry train  
 Burn with diminished lustre ; for behold,  
 The radiant moon bid meaner glories fade.—  
 No cloud her course obscures, and high she tow'rs,  
 Guiding in awful majesty thro' Heav'n  
 Her silver car, triumphant o'er the dark.  
 Sure 'tis illusion and enchantment all !—  
 For still fond fancy, thro' the shadowy glade,  
 Sees visionary fleeting forms ; still hears

\* *Fireflies.*

The loss of Seville was followed by that of CHAP.  
I.  
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Melilla, a small village situated about eleven leagues to the eastward, (at the harbour now called Port Maria) and the catastrophe which

Sounds more than human. Once a gentle race
Own'd these fair valleys; from the birth of time
These groves, these fountains, and these hills were theirs.
Perhaps e'en now their sp'rits delighted haunt
Their once-lov'd mansions. Oft the pensive Muse
Recals, in tender thought, the mournful scene
When the brave Incotel, from yonder rock,
His last sad blessing to a weeping train
Dying bequeath'd. 'The hour,' he said, 'arrives,
By ancient sages to our sires foretold!—*
Fierce from the deep, with Heav'n's own lightning arm'd,
The pallid nation comes! Blood marks their steps;
Man's agonies their sport, and man their prey!

What piercing shrieks still vibrate on the ear!
The expiring mother lifts her feeble arm
In vain to shield her infant; the hot steel
Smokes with their mingled blood; and blooming youth,
And manly strength, and virgin beauty, meet
Alike th' untimely grave; till fell revenge
Is cloy'd and tir'd with slaughter. See, full-gorg'd,
The vulture sickens o'er his waste of prey,
And, surfeit-swell'd, the reeking hound expires.

Yet pause not, Spaniard! whet thy blunted steel;
Take thy full pastime in the field of blood!
But know, stern tyrant, retribution's hour
Ere long shall reach thee. Though his once lov'd isle,
For crimes yet unaton'd, dread Zemi thus
To desolation and to death consigns,
And thou the instrument of wrath divine;

* See B. i. c. 3. p. 92.

BOOK
II.

attended these places is supposed to have caused the establishment of the capital of St. Jago de la Vega, or, as it is now called, Spanish Town.

In yonder orb, now darken'd in his course,
Read thy own doom more dreadful! With the slain,
The murderer falls! Th' oppressor and th' oppress'd
Mingle in dust together! Where are now
Thy blood-polluted glories? Ah! too late,
Learn, when avenging Heav'n presumptuous guilt
Gives to its own fell purposes a prey,
More mark'd its fate, more terrible its fall.

So perish the false triumphs, and vain hopes
Of mad ambition, and remorseless pride,
That make weak man the murderer of man!
O my associates, dry those scalding tears!—
One little moment, and we shall arrive
At those bless'd islands, where, from guilt refin'd
By sharp affliction, we no more shall feel
Death's torpid grasp, and agonizing pang!
There, with our lov'd forefathers, shall we rove
Thro' palmy shades; in limpid fountains bathe,
Repose in jasmin bow'rs at sultry noon;
And, when cool ev'ning tempers soft the air,
Unenvied gather from his unprun'd bough
The fragrant guoyva.* On our cheeks no more
The burning tear shall linger; not a sigh
Swell the light bosom; but immortal joy
Fill every thought, and brighten every eye:
Meantime, those happy interdicted shores
Our blood-stained foes shall seek; but seek in vain:
The hurricane shall rave, the thunder roll,
And ocean overwhelm them in his deepest tide;
Or leave transfix'd on the hard pointed rock,

* The fruit so called is the *Psidium fruticosum* of botanists: P. Martyr relates, that it was in high esteem among the natives.

Concerning the precise era of these events, it is now perhaps useless to inquire; but if conjecture may be allowed, I should fix on the year 1523, immediately after the departure of the force under Garay; and if the new capital was really founded by Diego Columbus, as tradition reports, and which there seems no good reason to dispute, the conjecture is strongly confirmed; for he embarked for Spain in discontent in 1517, returned to his government with fuller powers in 1520, and died in his native country in the latter end of 1525, or the beginning of 1526; and it was certainly after his arrival the last time in Hispaniola, that he laid, or caused to be laid, the foundation of St. Jago de la Vega.*

The new city increased rapidly, and in 1545 (twenty years after the death of its founder) it

The sport of howling winds. How shall we laugh,
When the pale coward slaves, to us, remote,
Direct th' uplifted hand, th' imploring eye!
Their conscious groans shall feed our great revenge;—
Their endless woes, our wond'rous wrongs repay.'

Jamaica, a poem; MSS. penes me.

* Since this was written I have discovered, by a re-perusal of Oviedo, that there was a general revolt of the Indians of St. Domingo in December 1522, which Diego Columbus suppressed, and immediately afterwards repaired to Jamaica to take on himself the government in the room of Garay. It seems probable, from hence, that the revolt extended to both islands.

BOOK. had the honour of giving the title of Marquis to
II. his son and heir, who received at the same time
from the Emperor Charles V. a grant of the whole island in perpetual sovereignty, as an hereditary fief of the crown of Castile.

As this is an important circumstance in the history of this island, and seems not to have been perfectly understood by any of the English historians who have treated of the affairs of Jamaica, I presume that a more copious account and explanation of it will not be unacceptable.

Diego Columbus left issue three sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Don Lewis, succeeded to his father's honours and extensive claims. Of the daughters, the eldest, Isabella, afterwards intermarried with the Count de Galvez, a Portuguese nobleman of the house of Braganza. Lewis Columbus was an infant of six years of age on the death of his father; but was generally considered as hereditary viceroy, and high-admiral of the West Indies. The emperor, however, though he treated him with singular distinction, and considerably augmented his revenues, as he grew to manhood, absolutely refused to admit his claim to such extensive authority; and Lewis, as his minority expired, instituted, after his father's example, a legal process for the recovery of his birthright. It does not appear that his suit

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ever came to a legal issue; for in the year 1545, he found it prudent to accede to a compromise with the emperor, whereby he transferred all his hereditary rights to the crown, for a grant of the province of Veragua and the island of Jamaica, with the title of Duke de Veragua and Marquis de la Vega. What might have been the precise extent and nature of this grant, we have not information sufficient to enable us to judge. Whatever it was, he left no issue to enjoy it; and his brothers also dying without male issue, his sister Isabella, wife of the Count de Gelvez, became sole heiress of the Columbus family, and conveyed by her marriage all her rights to the house of Braganza, where they continued, I believe, till the year 1640, and then reverted back by forfeiture to the crown of Spain, in consequence of the revolution which placed John Duke of Braganza on the throne of Portugal.

Sir Hans Sloane, therefore, in asserting that a Duke de Veragua enjoyed a yearly revenue from Jamaica, at the time the island surrendered to the English in 1655, must have been misinformed; as he clearly is in supposing that the family of Columbus were at that time proprietors of the island, and had so continued from the days of Ferdinand and Isabella.

But there is a circumstance recorded by Blome, and confirmed by the state papers of

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Thurloe, for which the relation I have given sufficiently accounts. I mean the establishment in Jamaica of many Portuguese families. The transfer of Isabella's inheritance to the house of Braganza, might have encouraged many of the Portuguese to fix their fortunes in the newly-acquired colony, and it is equally probable that the same event would excite jealousy in the old Spanish settlers towards their new visitors. Blome adds, that the Portuguese were abhorred.

To such mutual distrust, and irreconcilable aversion of the inhabitants towards each other, must be ascribed the reason that Sir Anthony Shirley met with so little resistance when he invaded the island in 1596, and plundered the capital. About forty years afterwards it was again invaded by a force from the Windward Islands under Colonel Jackson. It is said, however, that on this occasion the inhabitants behaved with great gallantry in a pitched battle at Passage-Fort. They were, however, defeated, and Jackson, after losing forty of his men, entered St. Jago de la Vega sword in hand, and having pillaged the town of every thing valuable, received a considerable ransom for sparing the houses. He then retreated to his ships, and carried off his booty without interruption.

From this period, until the capture of the island by the English in 1655, during the usur-

pation of Cromwell, I know nothing of its concerns, nor perhaps were they productive of any event deserving remembrance. I shall therefore proceed, in the next chapter, to the consideration of the Protector's motives for attacking the territories of Spain at a time when treaties of peace subsisted between the two nations; which I conceive have hitherto been greatly misunderstood, or wilfully misrepresented, by historians in general.

. In the preceding chapter (p. 167 of the present edition) I have assigned some reasons in support of the traditional account of the destruction of New Seville, on the northern side of Jamaica, *by the ancient Indians*, and I have supposed that event to have happened in the year 1523. I have since discovered that the reasons I have given were well founded. Among Sir Hans Sloane's MSS. in the British Museum, I have been shewn part of an unpublished history of Jamaica, which was written in the beginning of the present century, by Doctor Henry Barham, a very learned and respectable physician of that island, wherein the circumstance is related nearly in the manner I had suggested, and stated to have occurred (as I had supposed) immediately after the embarkation of the force under Garay; which is known, from Herrera, to have taken place in 1523.—In the same work, the letter from Christopher Columbus (*vide* p. 156, *et seq.*) is preserved as a document of undoubted authenticity.

CHAPTER II.

Cromwell vindicated for attacking the Spaniards in 1655.—Their cruelties in the West Indies, in contravention of the treaty of 1630.—Proposals offered by Modyford and Gage.—Forcible arguments of the latter.—Secretary Thurloe's account of a conference with the Spanish Ambassador.—Cromwell's demand of satisfaction rejected.—State of Jamaica on its capture.

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THERE is no portion of the English annals, in the perusal of which greater caution is requisite, than the history of the administration of the protector Cromwell. The prejudices of party, which in common cases are lost in the current of time, have floated down to us in full strength against this prosperous usurper; and his actions, from the period that he reached the summit of power, are still scrutinized with industrious malignity, as if it were impossible that authority irregularly acquired, could be exercised with justice.

It is not strange, therefore, that the vigorous proceedings of the Protector against the Spanish nation, in 1655, should have been obnoxious to censure, or that writers of very opposite political

principles should concur in misrepresenting his conduct on that occasion. The celebrated female republican* terms it “dishonourable and piratical,” and the courtly and elegant apologist of the Stewart family† pronounces it a most unwarrantable violation of treaty.

The publication of the state papers of Thurloe (the secretary) ought, however, to have mitigated this weight of censure. In truth, it will be found that nothing but a most disingenuous concealment of the hostile proceedings of the Spaniards, too gross to be palliated, towards the subjects of England, can give even the colour of plausibility to the charge which has been brought against Cromwell, of having commenced an unjust and ruinous war, against a friend and ally, contrary to the interest of the nation, and in violation of the faith of treaties. If the power which is vested in the executive magistrate, by whatever name he be distinguished, be held for the protection and security of the religion, liberties, and properties of the people under his government, the measures adopted by the Protector on that occasion were not merely justifiable; they were highly necessary, and even meritorious; for the conduct of Spain, especially in America, was the declara-

* Mrs. Macauley—History of England.

† David Hume—History of Great Britain.

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tion and exercise of war against the whole human race. I shall adduce a few remarkable facts to support this assertion. The subject is curious in itself, and in some respects, will be new to the reader.

The latest treaty which had been made between England and Spain, previous to the assumption of the protectorate by Cromwell, was concluded in the year 1630; by the first article of which it was stipulated, "that there should be peace, amity, and friendship between the two crowns and their respective subjects *in all parts of the world.*" Before this period, the sovereigns of Spain had not only encouraged, but openly avowed, the exercise of perpetual hostility on the ships and subjects of all the nations of Europe, that were or might be found in any part of the new hemisphere; arrogantly assuming to themselves a right not only to all the territories which their own subjects had discovered there, but claiming also the sole and exclusive privilege of navigating the American seas.*

* In the reign of James I. within two years after the conclusion of a peace between England and Spain, which saved the Spanish monarchy from absolute destruction, Sir Charles Cornwallis, in a letter dated from Madrid in May 1606, informs the Earl of Salisbury, that Don Lewis Firardo, a Spanish admiral, having met with certain English ships laden with corn and bound to Seville, "took the masters, and first set their necks in the stocks. He afterwards re-

Pretensions so exorbitant; which violated alike the laws of nature and nations, were resisted by every maritime state that felt itself concerned in the issue; by the English particularly, who had already planted colonies in Virginia, Bermudas, St. Christopher's, and Barbadoes; territories some of which Spain had not even discovered, and none of which had she ever occupied. Thus actual war, and war in all its horrors, prevailed between the subjects of Spain in the new world, and those of the several other nations who ventured thither;

moved them into his own ship, and there, with his own hands, did as much to their legs; reviling them, and calling them heretics, Lutheran dogs, and enemies of Christ, threatening to hang them; and in conclusion robbed them of what he thought fit." See Winwood, vol. ii. p. 143. It appears by subsequent letters preserved in the same collection, that Cornwallis, complaining to the Duke of Lerma, the minister of Spain, of Firardo's conduct, particularly in sending to the galleys some English mariners, whom he had made prisoners in the West Indies, was told by that minister "that Firardo should be called to account, not (adds the Duke) for sending the men to the galleys, but *for not having hanged them up, as he ought to have done.*" Sir Walter Raleigh, some time afterwards, in a letter to King James, speaks of it as a well-known fact; that the Spaniards, in another instance, had murdered twenty-six Englishmen, tying them back to back and then cutting their throats, even after they had traded with them a whole month, and when the English went ashore in full confidence, and without so much as one sword among them. See Raleigh's works by Birch, vol. ii. p. 376.

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while, at the same time, peace apparently subsisted between the parent states in Europe.

To secure to the English an uninterrupted intercourse with their settlements above mentioned, was one great object of the treaty of 1630. It seems indeed to have been more immediately founded on a remarkable instance of Spanish perfidy, which had recently happened in the island of St. Christopher; for the court of Spain having, towards the latter end of the year 1629, fitted out a fleet of twenty-four ships of force, and fifteen frigates, under the command of Don Frederick de Toledo, ostensibly to attack the Dutch settlement in Brasil, secretly ordered the admiral to proceed in the first place to the island I have mentioned (which, although the Spaniards had indeed first discovered it 130 years before, they had never once occupied) and rout out from thence both the English and French, who at that time held a joint and peaceable possession.

Neither the French nor English, nor both together, were strong enough to oppose such an enemy. The French planters took refuge in the neighbouring island of Antegua, and the English fled to the mountains; from whence they sent deputies to treat for a surrender; but the haughty Spaniard required and obtained unconditional submission; and, having selected out of the English settlers six hundred of the

ablest men, whom he condemned to the mines, he ordered all the rest (consisting chiefly of women and children) instantly to quit the island, in some English vessels which he had seized at Nevis, under pain of death. He then laid waste all the settlements within his reach, and having reduced the country to a desert, proceeded on his voyage.

It might be supposed that the treaty of 1630 prevented such enormities in future; but in violation of all that is solemn and sacred among christian states, and to the disgrace of human nature, the Spaniards, eight years only after the affair of St. Christopher's, attacked a small English colony which had taken possession of the little unoccupied island of Tortuga, and put every man, woman, and child to the sword: they even hanged up such as came in and surrendered themselves, on the promise of mercy, after the first attack.

The unhappy monarch at that time on the throne of England, was too deeply engaged in contest with his subjects at home, to be able to afford protection to his colonists abroad; and those contests terminating at length in a civil war, the Spaniards proceeded in the same career with impunity; treating all the British subjects, whom they found in the West Indies, as intruders and pirates. In the year 1625, the English and Dutch had jointly taken possession

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of Santa Cruz, which before that time was wholly unpeopled and deserted. Disputes afterwards arising between the new settlers, the English took arms and became sole masters of the island. In 1650 the Spaniards landed there, and without the smallest provocation, exterminated every inhabitant that fell into their hands, murdering, as at Tortuga, even the women and children. As usual with this revengeful nation, they conquered only to desolate; for having destroyed all the people they could seize, they laid waste and then deserted the island; and when some of the Dutch nation, in consequence of such desertion, took possession a second time, the Spaniards returned, and treated them as they had treated the English.

Of their cruelties towards the subjects of foreign states, even such as were forced on their coasts in distress, the instances were without number. Their treatment of the sailors was as barbarous and inhuman, as their pretences for seizing their ships were commonly groundless and unjust. The very mercies of the Spaniards were cruel; for if in some few instances they forbore to inflict immediate death on their prisoners, they sentenced them to a worse punishment; condemning them to work in the mines of Mexico for life.*

* The Spaniards, after the death of Cromwell, revived these practices, and continued them to our own times.

It is evident, from the numerous schemes and proposals for attacking the Spaniards, which were presented to Cromwell on his elevation to the protectorate, that the English in general had a deep and just sense of the wrongs which they sustained from the bigotry, avarice and cruelty of the Spanish nation.—We may surely con-

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About the year 1680, they landed on the Island of Providence, one of the Bahamas, and totally destroyed the English settlement there. The governor (Mr. Clark) they took with them to Cuba in irons, and put him to death by torture. Oldmixon, who wrote "the British Empire in America," was informed by Mr. Trott, one of Governor Clark's successors, that the Spaniards roasted Clark on a spit. The insolence and brutality of the commanders of the Spanish guarda-costas, in the days of Walpole, are remembered by many persons now living; and perhaps there are those alive who were present when Captain Jenkins gave that remarkable evidence to the House of Commons, which it would be thought might have animated every British heart to insist on exemplary vengeance. The case was this:—A Spanish commander, after rummaging this man's vessel for what he called contraband goods, without finding any, put Jenkins to the torture, and afterwards, without the smallest provocation, cut off one of his ears, telling him to carry it to the king of England his master. Jenkins had preserved the ear in a bottle, which he displayed to the House of Commons. Being asked by one of the members, what he thought or expected while in the hands of such a barbarian? "I recommended," he replied, "my soul to God, and my cause to my country." See *Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates*.

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clude, that applications of such a nature could not have been made to the supreme executive magistrate without any pretence of injury received. To suppose that a body of the subjects of any civilized state, or that even any individual of sound mind, would intrude into the national councils, and presume to solicit a violation of the public faith, and the commencement of hostilities towards a powerful state and an ally, without any provocation, is to suppose a case which I believe never did occur in history, and which indeed it seems next to impossible should happen. Among other persons who presented memorials on this occasion, we find the names of Colonel Modyford and Thomas Gage. The former was one of the earliest and most enterprising planters of Barbadoes ; and Gage had resided twelve years in New Spain in priest's orders. He was brother of Sir Henry Gage, one of the generals under Charles I.* and appears to have been a man of capacity and extensive observation.

In his memorial, which is preserved among the state papers of Thurloe, he enters fully into a justification of the measures which he recommends. "None in conscience," he observes,

* This Sir Henry Gage was killed at the battle of Culham-Bridge, in 1644. He was ancestor of the late General Gage, by whom I was favoured with this account of Thomas Gage.

“ may better attempt such an expulsion of the Spaniards from those parts than the English, who have been often expelled by them from our plantations ; as from St. Christopher’s, St. Martin’s, from Providence and from Tortugas, where the English were inhumanly and most barbarously treated by the Spaniards, who to this day watch for their best advantage to cast us out of all our plantations, and say that all the islands as well as the main belong to them. And in conscience it is lawful to cast that enemy or troublesome neighbour out of his dominions, that would, and hath attempted to cast us out of ours.”—He then proceeds to demonstrate, that it is not a work of difficulty to dislodge the Spaniards from some of their most valuable possessions, and recommends the first attack to be made on Hispaniola or Cuba ; the former, he observes, “ was the Spaniards’ first plantation, and therefore it would be to them a bad omen to begin to lose that which they first enjoyed.” “ This island,” he adds, “ is not one quarter of it inhabited, and so the more easy to take.”—Gage, some years before, had published a book, which is now before me ; entitled, “ A new Survey of the West Indies.” It contains much curious information respecting the state of Spanish America, at the time that he resided there. In the dedication to Fairfax, general of the parliament’s forces, he combats, with great strength of reasoning, the

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pretensions of the Spanish Crown to an exclusive right to the countries of the New World: "I know of no title," he observes, "that the Spaniard hath (the Pope's donation excepted) but force, which, by the same title may be repelled.—And, as to the *first discovery*, to me it seems as little reason, that the sailing of a Spanish ship upon the coast of India, should entitle the king of Spain to that country, as the sailing of an Indian or English ship upon the coast of Spain, should entitle either the Indians or English unto the dominion thereof. No question but the just right or title to those countries, appertains to the natives themselves; who, if they should willingly and freely invite the English to their protection, what title soever they have in them, no doubt they may legally transfer to others. But to end all disputes of this nature, since God has given the earth to the sons of men to inhabit, and that there are many vast countries in those parts not yet inhabited, either by Spaniard or Indian, why should my countrymen, the English, be barred from making use of that, which God, from all beginning, did ordain for the benefit of mankind?"

These, or similar arguments, and a long list of Spanish depredations on the subjects of England, made without doubt a deep impres-

sion on the mind of Cromwell. It appears indeed that the court of Spain, conscious of having merited the severest vengeance, foresaw an impending storm, and endeavoured to avert it. We are told by Thurloe, that Cardenas the ambassador, in a private audience, congratulated the Protector on his elevation to the government, " assuring him of the true and constant friendship of his master, either in the condition he then stood, or that if he would go a step further, and take upon him the crown, his master would venture the crown of Spain to defend him in it." These general discourses came afterwards to particular propositions; which Cromwell received with a coldness that alarmed the ambassador; who then desired that former treaties of alliance between the two kingdoms might be renewed, as the first step towards a nearer union. It does not appear that Cromwell had any objection to this proposition. That he thought to involve the nation in an unprovoked and unnecessary war with Spain, or, as Ludlow expresses it, that " he meant to engage those men in distant services, who otherwise were ready to join in any party against him at home," though it has been confidently asserted, has been asserted against clear and substantial evidence. He demanded, it is true, satisfaction for past,

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and security against future injuries ; and he appointed commissioners to treat with the Spanish ambassador thereupon ; with whom several conferences were held, chiefly, says Thurloe, on the right interpretation of the treaty of 1630.—The result of those conferences, which I shall give in Thurloe's own words, affords so full and clear a justification of the Protector's subsequent proceedings, that no excuse can be offered for those historians by whom this evidence has been wilfully suppressed.

The chief difficulties (observes Thurloe) were the following : “ 1st. touching the West
“ Indies, the debate whereof was occasioned
“ upon the first article of the aforesaid treaty
“ of 1630, whereby it is agreed, that there
“ should be peace, amity, and friendship be-
“ tween the two kings and their respective sub-
“ jects in all parts of the world, as well in Eu-
“ rope as elsewhere. Upon this it was shown,
“ that in contravention of this article, the
“ English were treated by the Spaniards as
“ enemies, wherever they were met in America,
“ though sailing to and from their own plan-
“ tations, and insisted that satisfaction was to
“ be given in this, and a good foundation of
“ friendship laid in those parts for the future,
“ between their respective subjects (the Eng-
“ lish there being very considerable, and whose

“ safety and interest the government here ought
“ to provide for) or else there could be no solid
“ and lasting peace between the two states in
“ Europe.

“ The second difference was touching the
“ inquisition, &c.—To these two, Don Alonso
“ was pleased to answer ; that to ask a liberty
“ from the inquisition, and *free sailing in the*
“ *West Indies*, was to ask his master's two eyes ;
“ and that *nothing could be done in those points,*
“ *but according to the practices of former times.*

“ Then it came into debate, before Oliver
“ and his council, with which of these crowns
“ (France or Spain) an alliance was to be chosen.
“ Oliver himself was for war with Spain, at
“ *least in the West Indies, if satisfaction were*
“ *not given for the past damages, and things well*
“ *settled for the future. And most of the council*
“ *went the same way.*”

From the facts and recital which I have thus given, it is apparent that the Spaniards not only were the first aggressors, but had proceeded to those hostilities against the subjects of England, which are unjustifiable even in a state of actual war ; and, although the outrages complained of were such as the most insignificant state in the world would not have tamely submitted to from the most powerful, yet did Cromwell, in seeking redress, display his regard

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to justice by his moderation and temper. He demanded, it is true, reparation for past injuries, and security against future ; but he did not order reprisals to be made, until his demand was rejected, and until he was plainly told, that the same hostile line of conduct which the Spaniards had hitherto pursued towards the English in America should be persisted in. Now, as Blome well observes, on this occasion, "*war must needs be justifiable, when peace is not allowable.*"

The course of my work would now bring me to a detail of the Protector's measures in consequence of his appeal to force ; the equipment of a powerful armament, its miscarriage at Hispaniola, and success at Jamaica ; but of all these transactions a very accurate and circumstantial narrative has already been given in the History of Jamaica by Mr. Long : to whose account I cannot hope to add perspicuity or force. Referring the reader, therefore, to that valuable work, for satisfactory information in these particulars, I shall conclude this chapter with an account of the state of Jamaica, its inhabitants and productions, as it was found by the English forces on its capture in May 1655 ; observing only, and I mention the circumstance with a regret in which I am sure the reader will participate, that Gage, who planned

and embarked in the expedition, perished in it!



The whole number of white inhabitants on the island, including women and children, did not exceed fifteen hundred. Penn, in his examination before the Protector's council, on the 12th of September 1655, states them at twelve or fourteen hundred only, of whom he says about five hundred men were in arms when the English landed. It is remarkable however that Blome, who compiled a short account of Jamaica so early as 1672, avers that the town of St. Jago de la Vega consisted of two thousand houses, two churches, two chapels, and an abbey. There must therefore have happened at some period a wonderful diminution in the number of the white inhabitants, and the expulsion of the Portuguese settlers, as related by this author, appears the more probable. Blome perhaps has given an exaggerated account of the number of the houses; but sufficient evidence remained, until within these few years, of the buildings consecrated to divine worship, particularly of the two churches and the abbey.

Of the other principal settlements, the chief appears to have been at Port Caguay, since named by the English Port Royal; but though it was next in consequence to St. Jago, it was probably nothing more than an inconsiderable

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hamlet, established for the purpose of some small traffic with the ships bound from Hispaniola to the continent. Its subsequent rise and extensive prosperity, its deplorable wickedness and fatal catastrophe, are circumstances too well known to be repeated.*

To the westward of Caguay was the port of Esquivel (Puerta de Esquivella) so called, I presume, in honour of the governor of that name. This port seems indeed to have been almost deserted at the time of the conquest in 1655, the Spaniards giving the preference to Caguay; but it was resorted to by the galleons, as a place of shelter during the hurricane months, and from its ancient reputation, the English named it *Old Harbour*.

From Old Harbour to Punto Negrillo, the

* The following singular inscription appears on a tomb-stone at Green Bay, adjoining the Apostle' Battery, near this town.

“DIEU SUR TOUT.

“Here lies the body of Lewis Galdy, Esq. who departed this life, at Port Royal, the 22d December 1736, aged eighty. He was born at Montpellier, in France, but left that country for his religion, and came to settle in this island, where he was swallowed up in the great earthquake, in the year 1692, and by the providence of God, was by another shock thrown into the sea, and miraculously saved by swimming until a boat took him up. He lived many years after, in great reputation, beloved by all who knew him, and much lamented at his death.”

western point of the island, the sea-coast was chiefly a savanna, abounding in horned cattle; but there does not appear to have been any settlement in all that great extent of country, except a small hamlet called Oristan, of which however the exact situation cannot now be ascertained.

Returning eastward, to the north of Port Caguay was the Hato de Liguany; presenting to the harbour an extensive plain or savanna, covered with cedar and other excellent timber. This part of the country was also abundantly stored with horned cattle and horses, which ran wild in great numbers; and the first employment of the English troops was hunting and slaughtering the cattle, for the sake of the hides and tallow, which soon became an article of export. It was supposed by Sedgewicke, that the soldiers had killed 20,000 in the course of the first four months after their arrival; and as to horses, "they were in such plenty," says Goodson, "*that we accounted them the vermin of the country.*"*

* "Colonel Barry's house all galleried round (now called Cavaliers) was formerly, when the Spaniards possessed the island, the only place in Liguany inhabited: a rich widow had here a sugar-work, and abundance of cattle in the savannas, near 40,000." (Sloane, vol. i. Introd. p. 73.)—The mountains of Liguany were supposed also to contain mines both of gold and copper.

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Eastward of Liguany was the Hato, by some called *Ayala*, by others *Yalos*, and now wrote *Yallahs*; a place, saith Venables, "which hath much commodity of planting or erecting of sugar engines of water, by reason of two convenient rivers running through it fit for that purpose." Next to *Ayala* was the Hato called *Morante*. This *Morante*, saith Venables, is a large and plentiful Hato, being four leagues in length, consisting of many small savannas, and has wild cattle and hogs in very great plenty, and ends at the Mine, which is at the Cape or Point of *Morante* itself, by which toward the north is the port *Antonio*."

Such is the account of *Jamaica* as transmitted in General Venables's letter to Secretary Thurloe, dated 13th June, 1655. The reader will perceive that no mention is made of the northern side of the island; which gives room to conclude, as was undoubtedly the fact, that it was one entire desert, from east to west, totally uncultivated and uninhabited.

Of the inland parts, it appears from Sloane, that *Guanaboa* was famous for its cacao-trees, and the low lands of *Clarendon* for plantations of tobacco.

Upon the whole, although the Spaniards had possessed the island a century and a half, not one hundredth part of the plantable land was

in cultivation when the English made themselves masters of it. Yet the Spanish settlers had no sooner exterminated, in the manner we have seen, the original proprietors, than they had recourse, with their neighbours of Hispaniola, to the introduction of slaves from Africa. We are told that the number of negroes in the island, at the time of its capture, nearly equalled that of the Whites. It is not easy to discover to what useful purpose the labour of these Blacks was applied. The sloth and penury of the Spanish planters, when the English landed, were extreme. Of the many valuable commodities which Jamaica has since produced in so great abundance, some were altogether unknown, and of the rest the inhabitants cultivated no more than were sufficient for their own expenditure. Their principal export, besides cacao, consisted of hog's-lard and hides. The sale of these articles, and supplying the few ships that touched at their ports with provisions, in barter for European manufactures, constituted the whole of their commerce; a commerce which the savages of Madagascar conduct with equal ability and success. They possessed nothing of the elegances of life, nor were they acquainted even with many of those gratifications which, in civilized states, are considered as necessary to the comfort and convenience of it. They were neither

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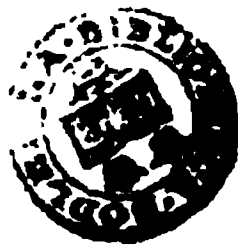
polished by social intercourse, nor improved by education ; but passed their days in gloomy languor, enfeebled by sloth, and depressed by poverty. Having at the same time but little or no connection with Europe, nor the means of sending their children thither for education (a circumstance that might have introduced among them, from time to time, some portion of civility and science) they had been for many years in a state of progressive degeneracy, and would probably in a short time have expiated the guilt of their ancestors, by falling victims themselves to the vengeance of their slaves. Time indeed had wrought a wonderful change in the manners and dispositions of all the Spanish Americans. It must however be acknowledged, that if they possessed not the abilities of their forefathers, they were unstained with their crimes. If we find among them no traces of that enterprising genius, that unconquerable perseverance, that contempt of toil, danger, and death, which so wonderfully distinguished the great adventurers, who first explored and added a new hemisphere to the Spanish dominion ; we must own at the same time, that they were happily free from their guilty ambition, their remorseless fanaticism, and frantic cruelty. But, whatever was their character, it is impossible to justify the hard terms imposed by the English commanders on the poor settlers in

Jamaica, in requiring them to deliver up their slaves and effects, and quit the country altogether. They pleaded that they were born in the island, and had neither relations, friends, nor country elsewhere, and they declared that they were resolved to perish in the woods, rather than beg their bread in a foreign soil. This was their final answer to the propositions of Venables, the English General, nor could they be brought again to enter into any treaty. The resistance they afterwards made against the efforts of our troops to expel them from the island, may furnish this important lesson to conquerors—that even victory has its limits, and that injustice and tyranny frequently defeat their own purposes.*

* The articles of capitulation first agreed on, which may be seen in Burchet's Naval History, are sufficiently liberal. By these all the inhabitants (some few individuals excepted) had their lives and effects granted them, and permission to remain in the country; but on the 4th of June, Venables informs the Lord Protector, that the inhabitants having broken their promises and engagements, he had seized the Governor and other chief persons, and compelled them to subscribe new articles.—What those were he does not say. It appears, however, that it was stipulated by one of them, that the Spanish part of the inhabitants should leave the island; and it seems probable that this measure was promoted by the intrigues of the Portuguese; for, in a subsequent letter, Venables writes thus: "The Portuguese we hope to

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make good subjects of; the Spaniards we shall remove." The particulars related in the text, concerning the effect of this determination on the minds of those poor people, are given on the authority of a paper signed J. Daniel, dated Jamaica, 3d of June, and preserved among Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 504.



CHAPTER III.

Proceedings of the English in Jamaica after its capture.—Colonel D'Oyley declared president.—Discontents and mortality among the army.—Vigorous exertions of the Protector.—Colonel Brayne appointed commander in chief.—His death.—D'Oyley reassumes the government.—Defeats the Spanish forces, which had invaded the island from Cuba.—His wise and steady administration.—Bucaniers.—Conciliating conduct of Charles II. on his restoration.—First establishment of a regular government in Jamaica.—Lord Windsor's appointment.—Royal proclamation.—American treaty in 1670.—Change of measures on the part of the crown.—New constitution devised for Jamaica.—Earl of Carlisle appointed chief governor for the purpose of enforcing a new system.—Successful opposition of the assembly.—Subsequent disputes respecting the confirmation of their laws.—Terminated by the revenue act of 1728.

AFTER the capture of the island, until the restoration of Charles II. the English in Jamaica remained under military jurisdiction. Cromwell had nominated Winslow, Serle, and Butler,

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to act as commissioners with Penn and Venables, intending, I presume, to constitute by this arrangement a council of state, whose authority might mitigate the rigour of the law-martial; but the two generals, with commissioner Butler, returning to England without leave, the sole command of the army devolved on Major General Fortescue, and of the fleet on Admiral Goodson. Nevertheless it was the intention of Cromwell to have established a civil government in the island on very liberal principles. Soon after he received the account of its capture, he issued a proclamation declaratory of that purpose, and on the return to England of Commissioner Butler, he sent over Major Sedgewicke to supply his place. Sedgewicke arrived in Jamaica in October, but Winslow and Searle having in the mean time fallen victims to the climate, he was unwilling to act under the Protector's commission without further assistance. An instrument of government was thereupon framed, and subscribed, on the eighth of October 1655, by Sedgewicke and the principal officers, who thereby constituted themselves a supreme executive council for managing the general affairs of the island; of which Fortescue was declared president, and he dying soon afterwards, Colonel Edward D'Oyley, the next in command, was chosen to preside in his room. But the situation of the troops required martial

array, and strict discipline; for the dispossessed Spaniards and fugitive negroes continued to harass the soldiers with perpetual alarms. Men were daily killed by enemies in ambush. The Spanish blacks had separated themselves from their late masters, and murdered, without mercy, such of the English as rambling about the country fell into their hands. They were even so audacious as to venture by night to attack the English troops in their quarters, and to set fire to some of the houses in which they were lodged, in the town of St. Jago de la Vega, the capital.

But the Protector was determined to maintain his conquest, and seemed anxiously bent on peopling the island. While recruits were raising in England, he directed the governors of Barbadoes, and the other British colonies to windward (which at that time were exceedingly populous) to encourage some of their planters to remove to Jamaica, on the assurance of their having lands assigned there. He dispatched an agent to New England on a similar errand, as well as to engage the people of the northern provinces to furnish provisions to the newly-acquired territory. He gave instructions to his son Henry Cromwell, who was Major General of the forces in Ireland, to engage two or three thousand young persons of both sexes from thence, to become settlers in Jamaica;

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and he corresponded with the Lord Broghill, who commanded at Edinburgh, on the best means of inducing as great a number to emigrate for the same purpose from Scotland.

In the mean while the old soldiers within the island disliking their situation, and conceiving, from the preparations of the government at home, that the Protector had thoughts of confining them to Jamaica for life, became dissatisfied and seditious. Other causes indeed concurred to awaken among them such a spirit of discontent as approached nearly to mutiny. Having at first found in the country cattle and swine in great abundance, they had destroyed them with such improvidence and wantonness of profusion, as to occasion a scarcity of fresh provisions in a place which had been represented as abounding in the highest degree. The chief commanders apprehending this event, and finding that the bread and flour which arrived from England were oftentimes spoilt by the length of the voyage and the heat of the climate, had urged the soldiers, with great earnestness, to cultivate the soil, and raise, by their own industry, Indian corn, pulse, and cassavi sufficient for their maintenance. They endeavoured to make them sensible that supplies from England must necessarily be casual and uncertain; and, persuasion failing, they would have compelled them by force to plant the ground; but the

subaltern officers concurred with the private men, absolutely refusing to contribute in the smallest degree to their own preservation by the means recommended. They were possessed of a passionate longing to return to England, and fondly imagined that the continual great expence of maintaining so large a body of troops at so great a distance, would induce the Protector to relinquish his conquest. They even rooted up the provisions which had been planted and left by the Spaniards. "Our soldiers," writes Sedgewicke, "have destroyed all sorts of provisions and cattle. Nothing but ruin attends them wheresoever they go. Dig or plant they neither will nor can, but are determined rather to starve than work." A scarcity, approaching to a famine, was at length the consequence of such misconduct, and it was accompanied with its usual attendants, disease and contagion. Perhaps there are but few descriptions in history wherein a greater variety of horrors are accumulated than in the letters addressed on this occasion by Sedgewicke and the other principal officers, to the government at home, which are preserved among Thurloe's state papers. Such was the want of food, that snakes, lizards, and other vermin, were eagerly eaten, together with unripe fruits and noxious vegetables. This unwholesome diet concurred with other circumstances to produce an epidemic dysentery, which

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II. time 140 men died weekly, and Sedgewicke
himself at length perished in the general carnage.

The Protector, as soon as he had received information of the distracted and calamitous state of the colony, exerted himself, with his usual vigour, to afford it relief. Provisions and necessaries of all kinds were shipped without delay; and Cromwell, distrustful it is said of D'Oyley's attachment, superseded him by granting a commission of commander in chief of Jamaica, to Colonel Brayne, governor of Lochabar in Scotland. This gentleman, with a fleet of transports, and a reinforcement of one thousand recruits, sailed from Port Patrick, the beginning of October 1656, and arrived at Jamaica, in December following. Colonel Humphreys with his regiment, consisting of 830 men, had landed, some time before, from England; and Stokes, governor of Nevis, with 1,500 persons collected in the Windward Islands, had reached Jamaica, and begun an establishment near to the Port of Morant, where some of Stokes's descendants, of the same name, possess at this day considerable property. Another regiment, commanded by Colonel Moore, arrived in the beginning of 1657 from Ireland, and some industrious planters followed soon afterwards from New England and Bermudas.

Brayne's first accounts are very discouraging. He complains that he found all things in the utmost confusion; that violent animosities subsisted among the troops; and, above all, that there was a great want of men *cordial to the business*; such is his expression. He desires a remittance of 5,000*l.* to enable him to erect fortifications, and a further supply of provisions for six months; strenuously recommending, at the same time, a general liberty of trade between the island and all nations in amity with England; an indulgence which he thinks would speedily encourage planters enough to settle in and improve the country.

But Brayne, though a man of sagacity and penetration, wanted firmness and fortitude. The troops still continued unhealthy, and sickness spreading rapidly among the new comers, Brayne, alarmed for his own safety, became as little cordial to the business of settling as the rest. He prayed most earnestly for permission to return to England. In the mean while, by way (as he writes) of precaution against a fever, he weakened himself to a great degree by copious blood-letting; a practice which probably proved fatal to him; for he died at the end of ten months after his arrival. A few days before his death, finding himself in imminent danger, he sent to D'Oyley, and for-

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mally transferred his authority to that officer. D'Oyley happily possessed all those qualifications in which Brayne was deficient; yet he entered on his charge with reluctance; for having already been roughly superseded by the Protector, he expected perhaps such another dismissal. In the letters which he addressed to Cromwell and Fleetwood, on the event of Brayne's decease, he expresses himself with propriety and dignity. "Your highness," he observes to Cromwell, "is not to be told how difficult it is to command an army without pay, and I tremble to think of the discontents I am to struggle withal, until the return of your commands; though I bless God I have the affection of the people here, beyond any that ever yet commanded them; and a spirit of my own not to sink under the weight of unreasonable discontents." To Fleetwood he writes, "I would have refused to accept of this command, if I could have quitted with honour and faithfulness to my country; but I am now resolved to go through, until I receive further orders from his highness, or a discharge from him, which I humbly desire your lordship to effect for me. Honours and riches are not the things I aim at. I bless God I have a soul much above them: Pray, my lord, decline your greatness, and com-

mand your secretary to give me an answer ; for if I were disrobed of all my titles of honour and great command, yet you know that I am a gentleman, and a faithful friend to my country.”

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It was fortunate for his country that his resignation was not accepted, and that the Protector, sensible at length of the ability and merit of this brave man, confirmed him in his command. To the exertions of D'Oyley, seconded and supported by the affection which his soldiers, under all their difficulties and distresses, manifested on every occasion towards him, we owe at this day the possession of Jamaica ; the recapture whereof by the Spaniards, towards the end of the year 1657, became to them an object of great national concern. Its defenceless state, the dissatisfaction of the English troops, and the exertions making by Cromwell to afford them relief, as well as to augment their numbers, led the governor of Cuba to believe, that the juncture was then arrived for retrieving the honour of his country, by the restoration of this island to its dominion. Having communicated to the viceroy of Mexico a scheme built on this idea, and received the sanction and support of that officer, he made preparations for a formidable invasion, and appointed Don Christopher Sasi Arnoldo, who had been governor of Jamaica at the time of

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its capture, to take the conduct and command of the enterprize.

On the eighth of May 1658, thirty companies of Spanish infantry landed at Rio Nuevo, a small harbour on the north side of the island. They were provided with provisions for eight months, with ordnance and ammunition of all kinds, and they brought engineers and artificers for erecting extensive fortifications. Twelve days had elapsed before D'Oyley knew of their landing, and six weeks more intervened by the time that he was able to approach them by sea. During this interval, the Spaniards had established themselves in great force; but D'Oyley at length reaching Rio Nuevo, with seven hundred and fifty of his best disciplined soldiers, attacked them in their entrenchments; carried by assault a strong fortress which they had erected on an eminence over the harbour; and compelled the late unfortunate governor to get back as he could to Cuba, after the loss of all his stores, ordnance, ammunition and colours, and of one half the forces which he had brought with him. Few victories have been more decisive; nor does history furnish many instances of greater military skill and intrepidity, than those which were displayed by the English on this occasion.

After so signal a defeat, the Spaniards made

no effort of consequence to reclaim Jamaica. A party of the ancient Spanish inhabitants, however, still lurked in the woods, and Sasi, their governor, had returned to share their fortunes; but a body of their fugitive negroes having surrendered to D'Oyley on the promise of freedom, these wretches informed him where their late masters were sheltered; and joined some troops that were sent in pursuit of them; thus the poor Spaniards were entirely routed, and the few that survived, by escaping to Cuba, took their last farewell of a country, on their fond attachment to which, it is not possible to reflect without emotions of pity.

By the wise, steady and provident administration of D'Oyley, the affairs of the island began at length to wear a more promising aspect. The army was now become tolerably healthy. Some successful efforts in raising Indian corn, cassavi, tobacco, and cacao, had given encouragement to a spirit of planting. The arrival of several merchant ships, for the purpose of traffic, contributed still further to the promotion of industry, and, on the whole, the dawn of future prosperity began to be visible.

But, as hath been truly observed by a well-informed author,* nothing contributed so

* European Settlements.

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much to the settlement and opulence of this island in early times, as the resort to it of those men called Bucaniers; the wealth which they acquired having been speedily transferred to people whose industry was employed in cultivation or commerce. Of that singular association of adventurers it were to be wished that a more accurate account could be obtained than has hitherto been given: I will just observe in this place, that such of them as belonged to Jamaica were not those piratical plunderers and public robbers which they are commonly represented. A Spanish war, commenced on the justest ground on the part of the English, still prevailing in the West Indies, they were furnished with regular letters of marque and reprisal. After the restoration of Charles II. the king ordered that they should receive every encouragement and protection; nor, if we may believe Sir William Beeston,* did his majesty disdain to become a partner in the bucaniering expeditions. It is indeed related, that he continued to exact and receive a share of the booty, even after he had publicly issued orders for the suppression of this species of hostility.†

* MS. Journal *penes me*.

† The favour extended by the king to Henry Morgan, the most celebrated of the English bucaniers, (a man indeed of an elevated mind and invincible courage) arose

People of all professions, and from all parts of the British empire, now resorted to Jamaica. The confusions which overspread England after the death of Cromwell, impelled many to seek for safety and quiet in the plantations. Some of those men who had distinguished themselves by their activity, in bringing their unhappy monarch to the scaffold, considered this island as a sure place of refuge. Foreseeing, from the temper which began to prevail amongst all ranks of people in England, especially towards the beginning of the year 1660, that the nation was united in its wishes for the re-establishment of the ancient frame of government, they hoped to find that safety in a colony composed of Cromwell's adherents, which they were apprehensive would shortly be denied them at home.*

doubtless, in a great measure, from the *good understanding* that prevailed between them in the copartnership that I have mentioned. When the Earl of Carlisle returned from Jamaica, Morgan was appointed deputy-governor and lieutenant-general in his absence; and, proceeding himself, at a subsequent period, to England, he was received very graciously, and had the honour of knighthood conferred on him by his sovereign. I hope, therefore, and have good reason to believe, that all or most of the heavy accusations which have been brought against this gallant commander, of outrageous cruelty towards his Spanish captives, had no foundation in truth.

* Some of those men who had sat as judges at the trial of Charles I. are said to have become peaceable settlers

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But although men of this stamp were silently permitted to fix themselves in the island, the general body both of the army and people caught the reviving flame of loyalty, and sincerely participated in the national triumph on the king's return. The restored monarch, on his part, not only overlooked their past transgressions, but prudently forbore also to awaken their jealousy, by inquiring after any of those obnoxious characters to whom they had afforded protection. To conciliate the affections of the colonists, whose valour had annexed so important an appendage to his dominions, the king even confirmed their favourite general in his command ; ap-

here, and to have remained after the Restoration unnoticed and unmolested. Waite and Blagrove are reckoned of the number, and General Harrison was earnestly pressed to follow their example ; but, suitably to his character, he gloried in the ignominious death that awaited him. After his execution, his children fixed their fortunes in this island, where some of his descendants, in the female line, are still living, in good credit, in the parish of St. Andrew. It is reported also, that the remains of President Bradshaw were interred in Jamaica ; and I observe in a splendid book, entitled *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, an epitaph which is said to have been inscribed on the President's grave ; but it is to my own knowledge, a modern composition. President Bradshaw died in London, in November 1659, and had a magnificent funeral in Westminster Abbey. A son of Scott, the Regicide, fixed himself in this island, and settled the plantation called Y 8 in St. Elizabeth.

pointing D'Oyley, by a commission which bore date the thirteenth of February 1661, chief governor of the island. He was ordered, at the same time, to release the army from military subordination, to erect courts of judicature, and, with the advice of a council *to be elected by the inhabitants*, to pass laws suitable to the exigencies of the colony.

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This memorable appointment of General D'Oyley, with a council elected by the people, may be considered as the first establishment of a regular civil government in Jamaica, after the English had become masters of it; but, in order to create full confidence of security in the minds of the inhabitants, further measures were necessary on the part of the sovereign; and they were readily adopted. D'Oyley desiring to be recalled, the Lord Windsor was nominated in his room, and directed to publish, on his arrival, a royal and gracious proclamation, wherein, for the purpose of encouraging the settlement of the country, allotments of land were offered under such terms as were usual in other plantations, with such farther convenient and suitable privileges and immunities, as the grantees should reasonably require. The proclamation then proceeds in the words following:—" And we do further publish and
" declare, that all the children of our natural-
" born subjects of England, to be born in Ja-
" maica, SHALL, FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE BIRTHS,

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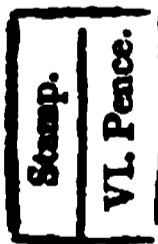
“ BE REPUTED TO BE, AND SHALL BE, FREE DE-
 “ NIZENS OF ENGLAND, AND SHALL HAVE THE
 “ SAME PRIVILEGES, TO ALL INTENTS AND PUR-
 “ POSES, AS OUR FREE-BORN SUBJECTS OF ENG-
 “ LAND; and that all free persons shall have
 “ liberty, without interruption, to transport
 “ themselves and their families, and any of their
 “ goods, (except only coin and bullion) from
 “ any of our dominions and territories to
 “ the said island of Jamaica, &c.*”—These

* As the reader may be desirous of seeing this proclama-
 tion at large, it is here inserted *verbatim*.

“ *Decima Septima Pars Patentium de Anno Regni Regis
 Caroli Secundi Tertio decimo. Car. 2di. 13tio.*

A PROCLAMACON, for the encouraging of Planters in
 his Majesty's island of Jamaica in the West Indies.

Wee being fully satisfied that our island of Jamaica,
 5. being a pleasant and most fertile soyle, and scituate como-
 diously for trade and commerce, is likely, through God's
 blessing, to bee a greate benefitt and advantage to this, and
 other our kingdomes and dominions, have thought fitt,
 for encouraging of our subjects, as well such as are al-
 ready upon the said island, as all others that shall trans-
 port themselves thither, and reside and plant there, to de-
 clare, and publish, and wee doe hereby declare and publish,
 that thirtie acres of improveable lands shall bee granted
 and allotted, to every such person, male or female, being
 twelve years old, or upwards, who now resides, or within
 two years next ensuing, shall reside upon the said
 island, and that the same shall bee assigned and
 sett out by the governor and councill, within six
 weekes next after notice shall bee given, in writing sub-



important declarations have always been justly considered, by the inhabitants of Jamaica, as a solemn recognition and confirmation by the crown, of those rights which are inherent in, and unalienable from, the person of a subject

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scribed by such planter or planters, or some of them in behalfe of the rest, to the governor or such officer as hee shall appoint in that behalfe, signifying their resolutions to plant there, and when they intend to bee on the place; and in case they doe not goe thither, within six months then next ensuing, the said allotment shall bee void, and free to bee assigned to any other planter, and that every person and persons to whom such assignment shall bee made, shall hold and enjoy the said lands, soe to bee assigned, and all houses, edifices, buildings and enclosures thereupon to bee built or made, to them and their heirs for ever, by and under such tenures as is usual in other plantations subject to us. Neverthelessse they are to bee obliged to serve in armies upon any insurrection, mutiny, or forraine invasion, and that the said assignments and allotments shall bee made and confirmed under the publique seale of the said island, with power to create any mannor or mannors, and with such convenient and suitable privileges and imunities as the grantee shall reasonably desire and require, and a draught of such assignment shall bee prepared by our learned councell in the lawe, and delivered to the governor to that purpose, and that all fishings and pischaries, and all copper, lead, tin, iron, coales and all other mines (except gold and silver) within such respective allotments shall bee enjoyed by the grantees thereof, reserving only a twentieth part of the product of the said mines to our use. And wee doe further publish and declare, that all children of any of our naturall-borne subjects of *England*, to bee borne in *Jamaica*, shall from



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of England, and of which, so long as he preserves his allegiance, emigration for the benefit of the state cannot, and surely ought not, to divest him. Pursuant to, and in the spirit of the proclamation, the governor was instructed to call an assembly, to be indifferently chosen by the people at large, that they might pass laws for their own internal regulation and government; a privilege, which being enjoyed by such of their fellow subjects as remained within the realm, it is presumed they had an undoubted right to exercise, with this limitation only, that

their respective births, bee reputed to bee, and shall bee, free Denizens of *England*; and shall have the same privileges, to all intents and purposes, as our free-borne subjects of *England*, and that all free persons shall have libertie without interruption, to transport themselves, and their families and any their goods (except onley coyne and bullion) from any our dominions and territories to the said island of *Jamaica*. And wee doe strictly charge and command all planters, soldiers and others, upon the said island, to yield obedience to the lawfull commands of our right trusty and welbeloved Thomas Lord *Windsor*, now our governor of our said island, and to every other governor thereof for the tyme being, under paine of our displeasure and such penalties as may bee inflicted thereupon. Given at our courte at Whitehall, the fourteenth day of December.

P. ipm'. Regem.

This is a true copy of the original record remaining in the Chapple of the Rolls, having been examined by me

Henry Rooke, Cl. of the Rolls.

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the laws which they should pass, were not subversive of their dependance on the parent state.*

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To these several testimonies of royal justice and favour towards the new colonists, may be added the additional security obtained for them by the American treaty, concluded and signed at Madrid in the month of June 1670. For, after the restoration, doubts were raised by the partisans of royalty, whether, as the elevation of Cromwell was adjudged an usurpation, the conquests which had been made under the sanction of his authority, could be rightfully maintained by a kingly government? Although nothing could well be more futile than these suggestions, it was nevertheless thought necessary to guard against the conclusions which Spain might deduce from them. This precaution partly gave rise to the seventh article of the treaty above referred to, which is conceived in the words following, viz. “The King of
“Great Britain, his heirs and successors, shall
“have, hold and possess, for ever, with full
“right of sovereign dominion, property and

* His Majesty was likewise pleased to favour the island with a broad seal with the following arms, viz. a cross gules charged with five pine-apples in a field argent; *supporters*, two Indians plum'd and condaled; *crest*, an alligator vivant. The inscription in the orb,

*Ecce alium Ramos porrexit in orbem
Nec sterilis est crux.*

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“ possession, all lands, countries, islands, colo-
 nies and dominions whatever, situated in the
 “ West Indies, or any part of America, which
 “ the said King of Great Britain and his sub-
 “ jects, do, at this present, hold and possess ;
 “ so that in regard thereof, or upon any co-
 “ lour or pretence whatever, nothing may or
 “ ought ever to be urged, nor any question or
 “ controversy moved concerning the same here-
 “ after.”*

Hitherto, it must be admitted that the sovereign authority was properly exerted in defence of the just rights of the crown, and in securing to its distant subjects the enjoyment of their possessions ; but unhappily Charles II. had neither steadiness nor integrity. About the period of the American treaty, a scheme having been formed by him, or his ministry, for subverting the liberties of the people at home, it is the less wonderful, that the privileges enjoyed by the colonists abroad, should have been regarded by the king with a jealousy, which, increasing with the increase of their numbers, broke out at length into acts of open hostility and violence towards them.

* From this recital may be seen the folly of the very prevalent notion, that the sovereigns of Spain, or some of their subjects, still keep up pretensions to Jamaica, or claim property therein, as not having been formally ceded to the crown of England.

In the beginning of 1678, the storm fell on Jamaica. A new system of legislation was adopted for this island, founded nearly on the model of the Irish constitution under Poyning's act; and the Earl of Carlisle was appointed chief governor for the purpose of enforcing it. A body of laws was prepared by the privy-council of England, among the rest a bill for settling a perpetual revenue on the crown, which his Lordship was directed to offer to the assembly, requiring them to adopt the whole code, without amendment or alteration. In future the heads of all bills (money bills excepted) were to be suggested in the first instance by the governor and council, and transmitted to his majesty to be approved or rejected at home; on obtaining the royal confirmation, they were to be returned under the great seal in the shape of laws, and passed by the general assembly; which was to be convened for no other purpose than that, and the business of voting the usual supplies; unless in consequence of special orders from England.

If we reflect only on the distance of Jamaica from Great Britain, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that it was impossible for the colony to exist under such a constitution and system of government. What misconduct on the part of the inhabitants, or what secret ex-

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pectation on the part of the crown, originally gave birth to this project, it is now difficult to determine. The most probable opinion is this.—In the year 1663, the assembly of Barbadoes were prevailed on, by very unjustifiable means, as will hereafter be shewn, to grant an internal revenue to the crown, of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the gross exported produce of that island for ever. It is not unlikely that the steady refusal of the Jamaica planters to burthen themselves and their posterity with a similar imposition, exciting the resentment of the king, first suggested the idea of depriving them of those constitutional franchises which alone could give security and value to their possessions. Happily for the present inhabitants, neither secret intrigue nor undisguised violence were successful. Their gallant ancestors transmitted to their posterity their estates unincumbered with such a tax, and their political rights unimpaired by the system of government attempted to be forced on them. “The assembly,” says Mr. Long, “rejected the new constitution with indignation. No threats could frighten, no bribes could corrupt, nor arts nor arguments persuade them to consent to laws that would enslave their posterity.” Let me add, as a tribute of just acknowledgment to the noble efforts of this gentleman’s great ancestor, Colonel

Long, that it was to *him*, Jamaica was principally indebted for its deliverance. As chief judge of the island, and member of the council, he exerted, on this important occasion, the powers with which he was invested, with such ability and fortitude, in defence of the people, as to baffle and finally overpower every effort to enslave them: The governor, after dismissing him from the posts which he had filled with such honour to himself, and advantage to the public, conveyed him a state prisoner to England. These despotic measures were ultimately productive of good. Colonel Long, being heard before the king and privy council, pointed out with such force of argument, the evil tendency of the measures which had been pursued, that the English ministry reluctantly submitted. The assembly had their deliberative powers restored to them, and Sir Thomas Lynch, who had presided in the island as lieutenant-governor from 1670 to 1674, very much to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, was appointed captain-general and chief governor in the room of Lord Carlisle.*

* I have subjoined, as an appendix to this book, "an historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica," wherein the particulars of Lord Carlisle's administration are detailed at large.—This historical account is now published for the first time, and cannot fail of proving extremely acceptable to the reader.

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It might have been hoped that all possible cause of future contest with the crown on the question of political rights, was now happily obviated; but the event proved that this expectation was fallacious. Although the assembly had recovered the inestimable privilege of framing such laws for their internal government as their exigencies might require, of which doubtless themselves alone were competent to judge, and although it was not alleged that the laws which they had passed, as well before, as after the re-establishment of their rights, were repugnant to those of the mother-country, yet the royal confirmation of a great part of them had been constantly refused, and still continued to be withheld. It was indeed admitted, that the English who captured the island, carried with them as their birth-right, the law of England as it then stood; but much of the English law was inapplicable to the situation and condition of the new colonists; and it was contended that they had no right to any statute of the British parliament, which had passed subsequent to their emigration, unless its provisions were specially extended to the colony by name. The courts of judicature within the island, had however, from necessity, admitted many such statutes to be pleaded, and grounded several judgments and important determinations upon them; and the assembly had

passed bills adopting several of the English statutes which did not otherwise bind the island ; but several of those bills, when sent home for the royal confirmation, and those judgments and determinations of the courts of law, when brought by appeal before the king and council, though not disallowed, remained unconfirmed ; and in this unsettled state the affairs of Jamaica were suffered to remain for the space of fifty years.

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The true cause of such inflexibility on the part of the crown, was no other than the old story of revenue. For the purpose, as it was pretended, of defraying the expence of erecting and repairing fortifications, and for answering some other public contingencies, the ministers of Charles II. had procured, as hath been related, from the assembly of Barbadoes, and indeed from most of the other British West Indian colonies, the grant of a perpetual internal revenue. The refusal of Jamaica to consent to a similar establishment ; the punishment provided for her contumacy, and the means of her deliverance, have already been stated ; but it was found that the lenity of the crown in relinquishing the system of compulsion, was expected to produce that effect which tyranny had failed to accomplish. The English government claimed a return from the people

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of Jamaica, for having dropt an oppressive and pernicious project, as if it had actually conferred upon them a positive and permanent benefit; a claim in which all the British ministers, from the restoration of King Charles, to the reign of George II. very cordially concurred.

The assembly however remained unconvinced. Among other objections they pleaded that the money granted by the Island of Barbadoes was notoriously appropriated to purposes widely different from those for which it was expressly given; and they demanded some pledge, or security, against a similar misapplication, in case they should subject their country to a permanent and irrevocable tax. The ministers refused to give any satisfaction in this particular; and finding that the assembly were equally resolute to pass their supply bills from year to year only, as usual, they advised the sovereign, from a spirit of vindictive policy, to wave the confirmation of the laws, and to suffer the administration of justice in the island to remain on the precarious footing that I have described.

Such was the actual situation of Jamaica until the year 1728, when a compromise was happily effected. In that year, the Assembly consented to settle on the crown a standing irrevocable revenue of 8,000*l.* per annum, on

certain conditions, to which the crown agreed, and of which the following are the principal :

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1st. That the quit-rents arising within the island (then estimated at 1,460*l.* per annum) should constitute a part of such revenue. 2dly. That the body of their laws should receive the royal assent. And, 3dly. That “all such laws “and statutes of England, as had been at any “time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted or “received, as laws in the island, should be, and “continue laws of Jamaica for ever.” The revenue act, with this important declaration therein, was accordingly passed ; and its confirmation by the king, put an end to a contest no less disgraceful to the government at home, than injurious to the people within the island.

I have thus endeavoured, with as much brevity as the subject would admit, to trace the political constitution of Jamaica from infancy to maturity ; but although its parentage and principles are British, it has been modified and occasionally regulated by many unforeseen events, and local circumstances. In its present form, and actual exercise, however, it so nearly resembles the system of government in the other British West Indian Islands, that one general description (which I reserve for a subsequent part of my work) will comprehend the whole. A minute detail of local occurrences and internal politics, would not, I presume, be inte-

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resting to the general reader. The following are the only circumstances which appear to me to merit distinct notice, and I have reserved the recital for this place, that the thread of the preceding narrative might continue unbroken.

In the year 1687 Christopher Duke of Albemarle was appointed chief governor of Jamaica. This nobleman was the only surviving son and heir of General Monk, who had restored Charles II. and I mention him principally as exhibiting a striking instance of the instability of human greatness. The father had been gratified with the highest rewards that a sovereign could bestow on a subject ; a dukedom, the garter, and a princely fortune ; and the son, reduced to beggary by vice and extravagance, was driven to the necessity of imploring bread from James II. The king, to be freed from his importunities, gave him the government of Jamaica ; where, dying childless, a short time after his arrival, his honours were extinguished with his life. The noble duke lived long enough, however, to collect a considerable sum of money for his creditors ; for entering into partnership with Sir William Phipps, who had discovered the wreck of a Spanish plate ship, which had been stranded in 1659, on a shoal to the north-east of Hispaniola, they sent out sloops from Jamaica, provided with skilful divers, to search for the hidden treasure, and are said to have actually recovered twenty-

six tons of silver. The conduct of this noble governor, on his arrival, affords many curious instances of the arbitrary principles of the times : — Having called an assembly, his grace dissolved them abruptly, because one of the members, in a debate, repeated the old adage, *salus populi suprema lex*. His grace afterwards took the member into custody, and caused him to be fined 600*l.* for this offence. With his grace came over Father Thomas Churchill, a Romish pastor, sent out by James II. to convert the island to popery ; but his grace's death, and the revolution in 1688, blasted the good father's project. The duchess accompanied her husband ; a circumstance which the speaker of the Assembly, in his first address, expatiated upon in a high strain of eloquence. “ It is an honour,” said he, “ which the opulent kingdoms of Mexico and Peru could never arrive at, and even Columbus's ghost would be appeased for all the indignities he endured of the Spaniards, could he but know that his own beloved soil was hallowed by such footsteps !\* ”

\* Having mentioned this lady, the reader, I am persuaded, will pardon me for adding the following particulars of her history. On the death of the duke, her first husband, his grace's coadjutors in the diving business (many of whom had been bucaniers) complained that they had not received their full share of the prize-money, and her grace, who had got possession of the treasure, refusing to part with a shilling, they formed a scheme to seize her person in the king's house in Spanish Town,

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On the seventh of June, 1692, happened that tremendous earthquake which swallowed up great part of Port Royal. A description of it, dreadfully minute, may be found in the Philo-

and carry her off. Luckily she received some information of the plot a day or two before it was to have been carried into execution, and communicated her apprehensions to the House of Assembly, who thereupon appointed a formidable committee of their ablest bodied members to guard her person by day and night, until she was safely embarked in one of the king's ships. She arrived in England, in the *Assistance* man of war, with all her treasure, the beginning of June 1688, and some years afterwards fell into a state of mental imbecility, in the progress of which she pleased herself with the notion that the Emperor of China having heard of her immense riches was coming to pay his addresses to her. She even made magnificent preparations for his reception. As she was perfectly gentle and good-humoured in her lunacy, her attendants not only encouraged her in her folly, but contrived also to turn it to good account, by persuading a needy peer (the first duke of Montague) to personate his Chinese majesty, and deceive her into wedlock, which he actually did; and with greater success than honesty, or, I should imagine, even the law would warrant, got possession by this means of her wealth, and then confined her as a lunatic. Cibber, the comedian, who thought it a good jest, introduced the circumstance on the stage, and it forms a scene in his play, called the *Sick Lady Cured*. Her grace survived her husband, the pretended emperor, for many years, and died in 1734, at the great age of 98. Her frenzy remained however to the last, and she was served on the knee as Empress of China to the day of her death.

sophical Transactions, but it is not generally known that the town was chiefly built on a bank of sand, adhering to a rock in the sea, and that a very slight concussion, aided by the weight of the buildings, would probably have accomplished its destruction. I am inclined therefore to suspect that the description of the shock is much exaggerated.\*

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The inhabitants were scarcely recovered from the terrors occasioned by the earthquake, when they were alarmed with an account of an intended invasion by an armament from Hispaniola, commanded by Mons. Du Casse, the governor of that island in person. Accordingly, on the 17th of June, 1694, a fleet of three men of war and twenty privateers (having on board 1,500 land forces) appeared off Cow Bay, where eight hundred of the soldiers were landed, with orders to desolate the country as far as Port Morant. These barbarians obeyed their instructions to the full extent. They not only set fire to every settlement they came to, but tortured their prisoners in the most shocking manner, and murdered great numbers in cold blood, after making them behold the violation of their wives by their own negroes. Such at least is the account transmitted

* The seventh of June is declared, by an act of the Assembly, to be established as a perpetual anniversary fast in commemoration of this calamity.

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by Sir William Beeston, the governor; to the secretary of state. Unfortunately, the militia of this part of the country had been drawn off to guard the capital; whereby the French continued their ravages without resistance, and having set fire to all the plantations within their reach, and seized about one thousand negroes, Du Casse sailed leeward, and anchored in Carlisle Bay, in the parish of Vere. This place had no other fortification than an ill-contrived breast-work, manned by a detachment of two hundred men from the militia of St. Elizabeth and Clarendon, which Du Casse attacked with all his force. The English made a gallant resistance; but Colonel Cleyborn, Lieutenant Colonel Smart, Captain Vassal, and Lieutenant Dawkins being killed, and many others dangerously wounded, they were compelled to retreat. Happily, at this moment, arrived five companies of militia, which the governor had sent to their assistance from Spanish Town. These, though they had marched thirty miles without refreshment, immediately charged the enemy with such vigour as entirely to change the fortune of the day. The French retreated to their ships, and Du Casse soon afterwards returned to Hispaniola with his ill-gotten booty.


In 1712, on the 28th day of August, and again on the same day of the same month, in

the year 1722, Jamaica was shaken to its foundations by a dreadful hurricane. This day, therefore, as well as the seventh of June, the Colonial Legislature has, by an act of Assembly, piously set apart for fasting and humiliation, and I wish I could add, that its commemoration annually, is as exemplary among all ranks of people as the occasion was signal.

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The next important occurrence in the history of this island, was the pacification, concluded in 1738, with the hostile negroes called *Maroons*; but the respite which this treaty afforded the inhabitants from intestine commotion was of short duration. In 1760, the very existence of the colony was endangered by a revolt of the enslaved negroes. As, however, some particulars of this affair will be given in a subsequent part of my work, when I come to treat generally of negro slavery, and of the condition and character of the newly imported Africans, it is unnecessary for me, in this place, to enlarge upon the subject.

The co-operation of the people whom I have just mentioned, the Maroons, in suppressing the revolt of 1760, was considered, at the time, in a very favourable point of view; and the safety of the country was attributed in some degree to their services on that occasion; but the writer of this was convinced by his own observations on the spot, that no opinion could

**BOOK** be more ill-founded : he was persuaded that the  
**II.**  Maroons were suspicious allies, and that, when-  
 ever they should come to feel their own strength,  
 they would prove very formidable enemies.  
 Recent events have unhappily confirmed the  
 judgment he then formed of them. Soon after  
 the publication of this work, these people began  
 a most unprovoked war against the white inha-  
 bitants, which has ended in their total defeat,  
 and the final expulsion of most of them from  
 the island. The circumstances attending this  
 revolt requiring particular discussion, I have  
 accordingly given it full consideration in a dis-  
 tinct narrative of its origin, progress, and termi-  
 nation, and reserved it for the concluding part  
 of these volumes : to that therefore the reader is  
 referred.

The year 1744 was distinguished by another  
 destructive conflict of the elements ; and in  
 1780, after a long respite, began that dreadful  
 succession of hurricanes, which, with the ex-  
 ception of 1782 and 1783, desolated this, and  
 some of the neighbouring islands, for seven  
 years together.\*

Of the whole series of these awful visitations,

\* 1780 hurricane 3d October.

1781 . . . . 1st August.

1784 . . . . 30th July.

1785 . . . . 27th August.

1786 . . . . 20th October.

the first was undoubtedly the most destructive ; but in Jamaica, the sphere of its activity was chiefly confined to the western parts of the island. The large and opulent districts of Westmoreland and Hanover presented, however, such extent and variety of desolation from its effects, as are scarcely to be equalled in the records of human calamity. Westmoreland alone sustained damage to the amount of 700,000*l.* sterling, and Hanover nearly as much. The sad fate of Savanna la Mar, (a small sea-port in the former parish) can never be remembered without horror. The sea, bursting its ancient limits, overwhelmed that unhappy town, and swept it to instant destruction, leaving not a vestige of man, beast, or habitation behind ; so sudden and comprehensive was the stroke, that I think the catastrophe of Savanna la Mar was even more terrible, in many respects, than that of Port Royal. The latter, however, was in its effects more lasting ; for to this hour the ruins of that devoted town, though buried for upwards of a century beneath the waves, are visible in clear weather from the boats which sail over them, presenting an awful monument or memorial of the anger of Omnipotence !

Dread end of human strength, and human skill,  
 Riches, and triumph, and domain, and pomp,  
 And ease and luxury ! DYER.

What has thus frequently happened, will

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probably happen again; and the insolence of wealth, and the confidence of power, may learn a lesson of humility from the contemplation.\*

\* Mr. Long, in the third volume of his History of Jamaica, has enumerated the following prognostics, as the usual precursors of a hurricane: "Extraordinary continuance of extreme dry and hot weather. On the near approach of the storm, a turbulent appearance of the sky: the sun becomes unusually red, while the air is perfectly calm. The highest mountains are free of clouds, and are seen very distinctly. The sky towards the north looks black and foul. The sea rolls on the coast and into the harbours with a great swell, and emits, at the same time, a very strong and disagreeable odour. On the full moon, a haze is seen round her orb, and sometimes a halo round the sun." To this enumeration, I will add a remarkable circumstance which happened in Jamaica in 1780. Upwards of twenty hours before the commencement of the great storm in that year, a very uncommon noise, resembling the roar of distant thunder, was heard to issue from the bottom of all the wells in the neighbourhood of Kingston. There was, at that time, in Port Royal harbour, a fleet of merchant ships, which were to sail the next morning. The commander of one of these vessels was a witness to the circumstance I have mentioned; and having been informed that it was one of the prognostics of an approaching hurricane (though none had happened in Jamaica for near forty years) he hastened on board his ship, warped her that evening into the inner harbour into shoal water, and secured her with all the precautions he thought necessary. At day-break the hurricane began, and this ship was one of the very few that escaped destruction from its fury.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Situation and climate.—Face of the Country.—Mountains, and advantages derived from them.—Soil.—Lands in Culture.—Lands uncultivated, and observations thereon.—Woods and Timbers.—Rivers and Medicinal Springs.—Ores.—Vegetable Classes.—Grain.—Grasses.—Kitchen-garden produce, and Fruits for the Table, &c. &c.*

JAMAICA is situated in the Atlantic ocean, in about 18° 12' north latitude, and in longitude about 76° 47' west from London. From these data the geographical reader will perceive the climate, although tempered and greatly mitigated by various causes, some of which will be presently explained; is extremely hot, with little variation from January to December; that the days and nights are nearly of equal duration; there being little more than two hours difference between the longest day and the shortest; that there is very little twilight; and finally, that when it is twelve o'clock at noon in London, it is about seven in the morning in Jamaica.

The general appearance of the country differs greatly from most parts of Europe; yet the

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north and south sides of the island, which are separated by a vast chain of mountains extending from east to west, differ at the same time widely from each other. When Columbus first discovered Jamaica, he approached it on the northern side; and beholding that part of the country which now constitutes the parish of St. Anne, he was filled with delight and admiration at the novelty, variety, and beauty of the prospect. The whole of the scenery is indeed superlatively fine, nor can words alone (at least any that I can select) convey a just idea of it. A few leading particulars I may perhaps be able to point out, but their combinations and features are infinitely various, and to be enjoyed must be seen.

The country at a small distance from the shore rises into hills, which are more remarkable for beauty than boldness; being all of gentle acclivity, and commonly separated from each other by spacious vales, and romantic inequalities; but they are seldom craggy, nor is the transition from the hills to the vallies oftentimes abrupt. In general, the hand of nature has rounded every hill towards the top with singular felicity. The most striking circumstances however attending these beautiful swells are the happy disposition of the groves of pimento, with which most of them are spontaneously clothed, and the consummate verdure

of the turf underneath, which is discoverable in a thousand openings; presenting a charming contrast to the deeper tints of the pimento. As this tree, which is no less remarkable for fragrance than beauty, suffers no rival plant to flourish within its shade, these groves are not only clear of underwood, but even the grass beneath is seldom luxuriant. The soil in general being a chalky marl, which produces a close and clean turf, as smooth and even as the finest English lawn, and in colour infinitely brighter. Over this beautiful surface the pimento spreads itself in various compartments. In one place, we behold extensive groves; in another, a number of beautiful groups, some of which crown the hills, while others are scattered down the declivities. To enliven the scene, and add perfection to beauty, the bounty of nature has copiously watered the whole district. No part of the West Indies, that I have seen, abounds with so many delicious streams. Every valley has its rivulet, and every hill its cascade. In one point of view, where the rocks overhang the ocean, no less than eight transparent waterfalls are beheld in the same moment. Those only who have been long at sea, can judge of the emotion which is felt by the thirsty voyager at so enchanting a prospect.

Such is the foreground of the picture. As the land rises towards the centre of the island,

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the eye, passing over the beauties that I have recounted, is attracted by a boundless amphitheatre of wood,

Insuperable height of loftiest shade,  
Cedar; and branching palm.

MILTON.

An immensity of forest: the outline of which melts into the distant blue hills, and these again are lost in the clouds.

On the southern side of the island, the scenery, as I have before observed, is of a different nature. In the landscape I have described, the prevailing characteristics are variety and beauty: in that which remains, the predominant features are grandeur and sublimity. When I first approached this side of the island by sea, and beheld, from afar, such of the stupendous and soaring ridges of the blue mountains, as the clouds here and there disclosed, the imagination (forming an indistinct but awful idea of what was concealed, by what was thus partially displayed) was filled with admiration and wonder. Yet the sensation which I felt was allied rather to terror than delight. Though the prospect before me was in the highest degree magnificent, it seemed a scene of magnificent desolation. The abrupt precipice and inaccessible cliff, had more the aspect of a chaos than a creation; or rather seemed to exhibit the effects of

some dreadful convulsion, which had laid nature in ruins. Appearances however improved as we approached; for, amidst ten thousand bold features, too hard to be softened by culture, many a spot was soon discovered where the hand of industry had awakened life and fertility. With these pleasing intermixtures, the flowing line of the lower range of mountains (which now began to be visible, crowned with woods of majestic growth) combined to soften and relieve the rude solemnity of the loftier eminences; until at length the savannas at the bottom met the sight. These are vast plains, clothed chiefly with extensive cane-fields; displaying, in all the pride of cultivation, the verdure of spring blended with the exuberance of autumn, and they are bounded only by the ocean: on whose bosom a new and ever-moving picture strikes the eye; for innumerable vessels are discovered in various directions, some crowding into, and others bearing away from, the bays and harbours with which the coast is every where indented. Such a prospect of human ingenuity and industry, employed in exchanging the superfluities of the Old World, for the productions of the New, opens another, and, I might add, an almost untrodden field for contemplation and reflection.

Thus the mountains of the West Indies, if not in themselves objects of perfect beauty,

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contribute greatly towards the beauty of general nature ; and surely the inhabitants cannot reflect but with the deepest sense of gratitude to Divine Providence, on the variety of climate, so conducive to health, serenity and pleasure, which these elevated regions afford them. On this subject I speak from actual experience. In a maritime situation, on the sultry plains of the south side, near the town of Kingston, where I chiefly resided during the space of fourteen years, the general medium of heat during the hottest months (from June to November, both inclusive) was eighty degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer.\* At a villa eight miles distant, in the highlands of Liguanea, the thermometer seldom rose, in the hottest part of the day, above seventy. Here then was a difference of ten degrees in eight miles ; and in the morning and evening the difference was much greater. At Cold Spring, the seat of Mr. Wallen, a very high situation six miles further in the country, possessed by a gentleman who has taste to relish its beauties and improve its productions, the general state of the thermometer is from 55 to

\* In the other months, viz. from December to May, the thermometer ranges from 70 to 80°. The night air in the months of December and January is sometimes surprisingly cool : I have known the thermometer so low at sunrise as 69°, even in the town of Kingston ; but in the hottest months, the difference between the temperature of noon-day and midnight is not more than 5 or 6°.

65°. It has been observed so low as 44°; so that a fire there, even at noon-day, is not only comfortable but necessary, a great part of the year.\* It may be supposed, that the sudden tran-

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\* Cold Spring is 4,200 feet above the level of the sea. The soil is a black, mould on a brown marl; but few or none of the tropical fruits will flourish in so cold a climate. Neither the nesberry, the avocado pear, the star-apple, nor the orange, will bear within a considerable height of Mr. Wallen's garden; but many of the English fruits, as the apple, the peach, and the strawberry, flourish there in great perfection, with several other valuable exotics; among which I observed a great number of very fine plants of the *tea-tree* and other oriental productions. The ground in its native state is almost entirely covered with different sorts of the *fern*, of which Mr. Wallen has reckoned about 400 distinct species. A person visiting Cold Spring for the first time, almost conceives himself transported to a distant part of the world; the air and face of the country so widely differing from that of the regions he has left. Even the birds are all strangers to him. Among others, peculiar to these lofty regions, is a species of the swallow, the plumage of which varies in colour like the neck of a drake; and there is a very fine song-bird called the *fish-eye*, of a blackish brown, with a white ring round the neck. I visited this place in December 1788, the thermometer stood at 57° at sun-rise, and never exceeded 64° in the hottest part of the day. I thought the climate the most delightful that I had ever experienced, On the Blue Mountain peak, which is 7,431 feet from the level of the sea, the thermometer was found to range from 47° at sun-rise to 58° at noon, even in the month of August. See *Med. Comment.* Eding. 1780.

The following has been given, as an account of the

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sition from the hot atmosphere of the plains, to the chill air of the higher regions, is commonly productive of mischievous effects on the human frame; but this, I believe, is seldom the case, if the traveller, as prudence dictates, sets off at the dawn of the morning, (when the pores of the skin are in some measure shut) and is clothed somewhat warmer than usual. With these precautions, excursions into the uplands are always found safe, salubrious, and delightful. I will observe, too, in the words of an agreeable writer,\* that “on tops of high mountains, where the air is pure and refined, and where there is not that immense weight of gross vapours pressing upon the body, the mind acts with greater freedom, and all the functions, both of soul and body, are performed in a superior manner.” I wish I could add, with the same author, that “the mind at the same time leaves all low and vulgar sentiments behind it, and in approaching the ethereal regions, shakes off its earthly affections, and acquires something of celestial purity!”†

heights from the sea of the most noted mountains in the world :

			Feet.
Mount Blanc	-	-	15,672
Etna	-	-	10,954
Pike of Teneriffe	-	-	11,022
Chimborazo (Andes)	-	-	20,575
Snowdon (Wales)	-	-	3,557

\* Brydone.

† In describing the rural features of Jamaica, the dis-

To these inequalities of its surface, however, it is owing that, although the soil in many parts

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tract called *Pedro Plains*, deserves particular notice. It is a level country on a high bluff called *Pedro Point*, situated on the south-west coast in the parish of St. Elizabeth. I am indebted to a friend for the following interesting account of this part of the island, which deserves to be better known and better peopled than it seems to be at present.

“ *Pedro Plains* differ from every other Savanna of the island, and from any part that I have seen of Cuba. From the district of Fullerswood, in St. Elizabeth's parish, it runs eastward along the coast on an easy ascent to the highest ridge, which is called *Tophill*; from whence it stretches inland more than twenty miles in length, and about five in width. It is not altogether unlike the downs in some parts of England, and is most beautifully dotted with clumps of wood, amongst which the aloe, torch-thistle, and other plants of that genus, flourish in great luxuriance, from half an acre to many acres in extent; the boundaries being as neatly defined as if kept so by art. The soil in colour is the deepest red, baked hard on the surface by the action of the sun, but of so porous a nature as to absorb the heaviest rains as fast as they fall. The herbage is in general coarse; nevertheless it maintains many thousands both of neat cattle and horses, and in no part of the world, I believe, is the latter found nearer to a state of wild nature than here. As the whole of this district is unfurnished with springs, or even ponds of any duration, the stock are compelled to go for water to the wells which are sunk in the lower parts of the country, at which time the hunters have opportunities of catching them; and contrivances are made for that purpose. This the master-horse seems to be well apprised of; for he

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of this island is deep and very fertile, yet the quantity of rich productive land is but small, in

leads into the inclosure with admirable caution, and as soon as his own thirst is allayed, he is very impatient to get his family out, which he always drives before him. He admits of no interlopers, nor allows any of his family to stray. The breed is remarkably hardy, but somewhat restive from their wild nature. The air of this country (particularly at Tophill, which approaches to mountainous) is wonderfully salubrious.—As one proof of this, there was living so late as 1780 a negro man, named John Comelast, who had resided on this spot as shepherd for upwards of 30 years. He had formerly been the coachman of a Mr. Woodstock, who had given him permission in his old age to go where he pleased. At the time I saw him his woolly hair had become perfectly white, and his body was shrivelled beyond any thing I had ever beheld; but at the same time his muscles were full and firm, and he could run down any sheep in the Savanna; for he had no dog to assist him. We took him as our guide down to the sea: he ran before us, keeping our horses on a hand-gallop, to the beach, and he maintained the same pace on our return (though up-hill) a distance of about ten miles. Of one family of the name of Ebanks, who lived on these plains, there were threescore persons living, all descended from one man, who was himself living in 1780. The air of this district, though not cold, is wonderfully dry and elastic, and so temperate withal, that even a European sportsman may follow his game the whole day without feeling any oppression from the heat; and he will meet with good sport in pursuing the galena or wild Guinea-fowl, which is found here in great numbers.—The mutton raised here is equal to the finest down mutton in England, and the fruits and vegetables of all kinds are excellent.—The water-melon in particular ranks

proportion to the whole. The generality of what has been cultivated is of a middling quality, and requires labour and manure to make it yield liberally. In fine, with every prejudice in its favour, if we compare Jamaica with many other islands of nearly the same extent (with Sicily, for instance, to which it was compared by Columbus) it must be pronounced an unfruitful and laborious country, as the following detail will demonstrate.

## CHAP. IV.

**Jamaica is one hundred and fifty miles in length, and, on a medium of three measurements at different places, about forty miles in breadth. These data, supposing the island to have been a level country, would give 3,840,000 Acres**

But a great part consisting of high mountains, the superficies of which comprise far more land than the base alone, it has been thought a moderate estimate to allow on that account 1½ more, which is

**240,000**

**The Total is - 4,080,000 Acres**

with the first of fruits. Its coolness, crispness, and flavour, are rivalled only by the beauty of the rind, which is mottled in shades of green, and bears a gloss like the polish of marble. On the whole, for beauty of prospect,—for purity and dryness of air,—and a climate exempt from either extreme of heat and cold, Pedro Plains may vie with any spot on the habitable globe.

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Of these, it is found by a return of the clerk of the patents, that no more than 1,907,589, were, in November 1789, located, or taken up, by grants from the crown, and as no grants have been issued since that time, it appears that upwards of one half the country is considered as of no kind of value. The lands in cultivation may be distributed nearly as follows :

In sugar plantations (including the land reserved in woods, for the purpose of supplying timber and fire-wood ; or appropriated for common pasturage, all which is commonly two-thirds of each plantation) the number of acres may be stated at 690,000 ; it appearing that the precise number of those estates, in December 1791, was 767, and an allowance of 900 acres to each, on an average of the whole, must be deemed sufficiently liberal.

Of breeding and grazing farms (or, as they are commonly called in the island, *pens*) the number is about 1,000 ; to each of which I would allow 700 acres, which gives 700,000, and no person who has carefully inspected the country, will allow to all the minor productions, as cotton, coffee, pimento and ginger, &c. including even the provision plantations, more than half the quantity I have assigned to the pens. The result of the whole is 1,740,000 acres, leaving upwards of two millions an unimproved, unproductive wilderness, of which

not more than one-fourth part is, I imagine, fit for any kind of profitable cultivation; great part of the interior country being both impracticable and inaccessible.

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But, notwithstanding that so great a part of this island is wholly unimproveable, yet (such is the powerful influence of great heat and continual moisture) the mountains are in general covered with extensive woods, containing excellent timbers, some of which are of prodigious growth and solidity; such is the *lignum-vitæ*, dog-wood, iron-wood, pigeon-wood, green-heart, braziletto, and bully-trees; most of which are so compact and heavy as to sink in water. Some of these are necessary in mill-work, and would be highly valuable in the Windward Islands. They are even so in such parts of Jamaica as, having been long cultivated, are nearly cleared of contiguous woods; but it frequently happens, in the interior parts, that the new settler finds the abundance of them an incumbrance instead of a benefit, and having provided himself with a sufficiency for immediate use, he sets fire to the rest, in order to clear his lands; it not answering the expense of conveying them to the sea-coast for the purpose of sending them to a distant market. Of softer kinds, for boards and shingles, the species are innumerable; and there are many beautiful varieties adapted for cabinet-work, among others

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the bread-nut, the wild-lemon, and the well-known mahogany.*

As the country is thus abundantly wooded, so, on the whole, we may assert it to be well watered. There are reckoned throughout its extent above one hundred rivers, which take their rise in the mountains, and run, commonly with great rapidity, to the sea, on both sides of the island. None of them are deep enough to be navigated by marine vessels. Black River in St. Elizabeth's parish, flowing chiefly through a level country, is the deepest and gentlest, and admits flat-bottomed boats and canoes for about thirty miles.

* Mr. Beckford (formerly of Westmoreland in Jamaica) whose elegant taste for the beautiful leads him to select the picturesque, rather than the useful, in woodland scenery, thus describes the rural features of this richly furnished island: "The variety and brilliancy of the verdure
"are particularly striking, and the trees and shrubs that
"adorn the face of the country, are singular for the richness of their tints, and the depth of their shadows. The
"palm, the cocoa-nut, the mountain cabbage, and the
"plantain, when associated with the tamarind, the orange,
"and other trees of beautiful growth and vivid dyes, and
"these commixed with the waving plumes of the Bamboo
"cane, the singular appearance of the Jerusalem thorn,
"the bushy richness of the Oleander and African rose,
"the glowing red of the scarlet cordium, the verdant
"bowers of the jessamine and grenadilla vines, all together compose an embroidery of colours which few regions can rival, and which, perhaps, none can surpass."
Descriptive Account of Jamaica, vol. i. p. 38.

Of the springs, which very generally abound, even in the highest mountains, some are medicinal; and are said to be highly efficacious in disorders peculiar to the climate. The most remarkable of these is found in the eastern parish of St. Thomas, and the fame of it has created a village in its neighbourhood, which is called the Bath. The water flows out of a rocky mountain, about a mile distant, and is too hot to admit a hand being held underneath: a thermometer on Fahrenheit's scale, being immersed in a glass of this water, the quicksilver immediately rose to 123°. It is sulphureous, and has been used with great advantage in that dreadful disease of the climate called the dry belly-ach. There are other springs, both sulphureous and chalybeate, in different parts of the country; of which, however, the properties are but little known to the inhabitants in general.

In many parts of Jamaica there is a great appearance of metals; and it is asserted by Blome, and other early writers, that the Spanish inhabitants had mines both of silver and copper: I believe the fact. But the industry of the present possessors is perhaps more profitably exerted on the surface of the earth, than by digging into its bowels. A lead mine was indeed opened some years ago, near to the Hope estate, in the parish of St. Andrew, and it is said, there was no want of ore, but the high price of la-

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bour, or other causes with which I am acquainted, compelled the proprietors to relinquish their project.

Of the most important of the present natural productions, as sugar, indigo, coffee, and cotton, I shall have occasion to treat at large, when the course of my work shall bring me to the subject of agriculture. It only remains therefore, at present, to subjoin a few observations on the vegetable classes of inferior order: I mean those which, though not of equal commercial importance with the preceding ones, are equally necessary to the comfort and subsistence of the inhabitants. If the reader is inclined to botanical researches, he is referred to the voluminous collections of Sloane and Browne.

The several species of grain cultivated in this island are, 1st, Maize, or Indian corn, which commonly produces two crops in the year, and sometimes three: it may be planted at any time when there is rain, and it yields according to the soil from fifteen to forty bushels the acre. 2dly, Guiney-corn, which produces but one crop in the year: it is planted in the month of September, and gathered in January following, yielding from thirty to sixty bushels an acre. 3dly, Various kinds of calavances, a species of pea; and lastly, rice, but in no great quantity; the situation proper for its growth being deemed unhealthy, and the labour of ne-

groes is commonly employed in the cultivation of articles that yield greater profit.

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This island abounds likewise with different kinds of grass, both native and extraneous, of excellent quality; of the first is made exceeding good hay, but not in great abundance; this method of husbandry being practised only in a few parts of the country; and it is the less necessary as the inhabitants are happily accommodated with two different kinds of artificial grass, both extremely valuable, and yielding great profusion of food for cattle. The first is an aquatic plant called *Scot's grass*, which, though generally supposed to be an exotic, I have reason to think grows spontaneously in most of the swamps and morasses of the West Indies. It rises to five or six feet in height, with long succulent joints, and is of very quick vegetation. From a single acre of this plant, five horses may be maintained a whole year, allowing fifty-six pounds of grass a day to each.

The other kind, called Guiney-grass, may be considered as next to the sugar-cane in point of importance; as most of the grazing and breeding farms, or pens, throughout the island, were originally created, and are still supported, chiefly by means of this invaluable herbage. Hence the plenty of horned cattle, both for the butcher and planter, is such that few markets in Europe furnish beef at a cheaper rate, or of

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better quality, than those of Jamaica.* Perhaps the settlement of most of the north-side parishes is wholly owing to the introduction of this excellent grass, which happened by accident about fifty years ago; the seeds having been brought from the coast of Guiney, as food for some birds which were presented to Mr. Ellis, chief-justice of the island. Fortunately the birds did not live to consume the whole stock, and the remainder, being carelessly thrown into a fence, grew and flourished. It was not long before the eagerness displayed by the cattle to reach the grass, attracted Mr. Ellis's notice, and induced him to collect and propagate the seeds; which now thrive in some of the most rocky parts of the island; bestowing verdure and fertility on lands which otherwise would not be worth cultivation.

The several kinds of kitchen-garden produce, as edible roots and pulse, which are known in Europe, thrive also in the mountains of this

* Mutton is also both cheap and good. The sheep of Jamaica, according to Sloane, are from a breed originally African. They have short hair instead of wool, and in general are party-coloured, chiefly black and white. They are small, but very sweet meat. The swine of the West Indies are also considerably smaller than those of Europe, and have short pointed ears. Their flesh is infinitely whiter and sweeter than the pork of Great Britain, and that of the wild sort, of which there are great numbers in the woods, still better.

island; and the markets of Kingston and Spanish-town are supplied with cabbages, lettuce, carrots, turnips, parsnips, artichokes, kidney-beans, green peas, asparagus, and various sorts of European herbs, in the utmost abundance. Some of them (as the three first) are I think of superior flavour to the same kinds produced in England. To my own taste, however, several of the native growths, especially the chocho, ochra, Lima-bean, and Indian-kale, are more agreeable than any of the esculent vegetables of Europe. The other indigenous productions of this class are plantains, bananas, yams of several varieties, calalue (a species of spinnage), eddoes, cassavi, and sweet potatoes. A mixture of these, stewed with salt fish or salted meat of any kind, and highly seasoned with Cayenne pepper, is a favourite olio among the negroes. For bread, an unripe roasted plantain is an excellent substitute, and universally preferred to it by the negroes, and most of the native whites. It may in truth be called the staff of life to the former; many thousand acres being cultivated in different parts of the country for their daily support.*

* It is said by Oviedo that this fruit, though introduced into Hispaniola at a very early period, was not originally a native of the West Indies, but was carried thither from the Canary Islands by Thomas de Berlanga, a friar, in the year 1516. The banana is a species of the

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Of the more elegant fruits, the variety is equalled only by their excellence. Perhaps no country on earth affords so magnificent a desert; and I conceive that the following were spontaneously bestowed on the island by the bounty of nature:—the annana or pine-apple, tamarind, papaw, guava, sweet-sop of two species, cashew-apple, custard-apple (a species of chirimoya),\* cocoa-nut, star-apple, grenadilla, avocado-pear, hog-plum and its varieties, pindal-nut, nesberry, mammee, mammee-sapota, Spanish-gooseberry, prickly-pear, and perhaps a few others. For the orange (Seville and China), the lemon, lime, shaddock, and its numerous species, the vine, melon, fig, and pomegranate, the West Indian islands were probably indebted to their Spanish invaders. Excepting the peach, the strawberry, and a few of the growths of European orchards (which however attain to no great perfection, unless in the highest mountains)

same fruit. Sir Hans Sloane, whose industry is commendable whatever may be thought of his judgment, has, in his History of Jamaica, collected much information concerning this production; and from some authorities which he cites, it would seem that Oviedo was misinformed, and that every species of the plantain is found growing spontaneously in all the tropical parts of the earth.

\* This fruit is the boast of South America, and is reckoned by Ulloa one of the finest in the world. I have been informed that several plants of it are flourishing in Mr. East's princely garden, at the foot of the Liguanea mountains.

the rose-apple, genip, and some others of no great value, I do not believe that English industry had added much to the catalogue, until within the last twenty years. About the year 1773, a botanic garden was established under the sanction of the assembly, but it was not until the year 1782 that it could justly boast of many valuable exotics. At that period, the fortune of war having thrown into the possession of Lord Rodney, a French ship bound from the island of Bourbon to Cape François in St. Domingo, which was found to have on board some plants of the genuine cinnamon, the mango, and other oriental productions, his Lordship, from that generous partiality which he always manifested for Jamaica and its inhabitants, presented the plants to his favourite islands;—thus nobly ornamenting and enriching the country his valour had protected from conquest. Happily, the present was not ill bestowed. The cinnamon may now be said to be naturalized to the country: several persons are establishing plantations of it, and one gentleman has set out fifty thousand plants. The mango is become almost as common as the orange; but, for want of attention, runs into a thousand seminal varieties. Some of them, to my taste, are perfectly delicious.\*

\* The cinnamon tree grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet; it puts out numerous side branches with a

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I shall conclude this chapter with an authentic catalogue of the foreign plants in the public botanical garden of this island; lamenting, at the same time, that I am not able to gratify the reader with a more copious and extensive display, from the magnificent collection of my late friend Hinton East, Esq. who had promised to favour me with an *Hortus Easternsis*, to be prepared, under his own immediate inspection, purposely for this work;—but much greater room have I to lament the cause of my disappointment, and mourn over the severity

dense foliage from the very bottom of the trunk, which furnishes an opportunity of obtaining plenty of layers, and facilitates the propagation of the tree, as it does not perfect its seeds in any quantity under six or seven years, when it becomes so plentifully loaded, that a single tree is almost sufficient for a colony. When planted for layers, it is of a pretty quick growth, reaching in eight years the height of fifteen or twenty feet; it is very spreading, and furnished with numerous branches of a fit size for decoration. The seeds are long in coming up. The small branches of about an inch diameter yield the best cinnamon, which is itself the *limber* or inner bark of the tree, and it requires some dexterity to separate the outer barks, which would vitiate the flavour. Specimens of the inner bark, transmitted by Dr. Dancer, the island botanist, to the Society of Arts, were found fully to possess the *aroma* and taste of the true cinnamon from Ceylon, and indeed to be superior to any cinnamon imported from Holland; and in all other respects to agree perfectly with the description of the oriental cinnamon given by Burman. See their resolutions of the 14th December, 1790.

of that fate which suddenly snatched a most  
amiable and excellent citizen from his friends  
and the public, and hurried him to an untimely  
grave.—Such is the vanity of hope, and the un-  
certainty of life! \*

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\* A very accurate and comprehensive catalogue of Mr.  
East's superb collection having since been obtained, it will  
be found in the third volume;—and the catalogue above  
mentioned, which was inserted in the first edition, is now  
therefore omitted.

## CHAPTER V.

*Topographical description.—Towns, villages, and parishes.—Churches, church-livings, and vestries.—Governor or Commander in Chief.—Courts of judicature.—Public offices.—Legislature and laws.—Revenues.—Taxes.—Coins, and rate of exchange.—Militia.—Number of inhabitants of all conditions and complexions.—Trade, shipping, exports and imports.—Report of the Lords of Trade in 1734.—Present state of the trade with Spanish America.—Origin and policy of the act for establishing of free ports.—Display of the progress of the island in cultivation, by comparative statements of its inhabitants and products at different periods.—Appendix No. I. No. II.*

BOOK II. THE island of Jamaica is divided into three counties, which are named Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall. The county of Middlesex is composed of eight parishes, one town, and thirteen villages. The town is that of *St. Jago-de-la-Vega* or *Spanish Town*, the capital of the island. Most of the villages of this and the other counties, are hamlets of no great account, situated at the different harbours and shipping-places, and supported by the traffic carried on there. *St. Jago-de-la-Vega* is situated on the banks of the

river *Cobre*, about six miles from the sea, and contains between five and six hundred houses, and about five thousand inhabitants, including free people of colour. It is the residence of the governor or commander in chief, who is accommodated with a superb palace; and it is here that the legislature is convened, and the Court of Chancery, and the Supreme Court of Judicature, are held.

The county of Surry contains seven parishes, two towns, and eight villages. The towns are those of Kingston and Port-Royal; the former of which is situated on the north side of a beautiful harbour, and was founded in 1693, when repeated desolations by earthquake and fire had driven the inhabitants from Port-Royal. It contained in 1788 one thousand six hundred and sixty-five houses, besides negro-huts and warehouses. The number of white inhabitants, in the same year, was six thousand five hundred and thirty-nine: of free people of colour three thousand two hundred and eighty: of slaves sixteen thousand six hundred and fifty-nine;—total number of inhabitants of all complexions and conditions, twenty-six thousand four hundred and seventy-eight. It is a place of great trade and opulence. Many of the houses in the upper part of the town are extremely magnificent; and the markets for butchers' meat, turtle, fish, poultry, fruits and vegetables, &c. are inferior to

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name. I can add too, from the information of a learned and ingenious friend, who kept comparative registers of mortality, that since the surrounding country is become cleared of wood, this town is found to be as healthful as any in Europe.\*

Port-Royal, once a place of the greatest wealth and importance in the West Indies, is now reduced, by repeated calamities, to three streets, a few lanes, and about two hundred houses. It contains, however, the royal navy yard, for heaving down and refitting the king's ships; the navy hospital, and barracks for a regiment of soldiers. The fortifications are kept

\* The number of the white inhabitants in Kingston had increased in 1791 to about 7,000. In that year the burials were 151 white men (including 45 from the public hospitals), 23 white women, and 20 white children. Total 194. Of the men, the whole number from the hospital, and a great many of the others, were transient persons, chiefly discarded or vagabond seamen; but without making any allowance for extraordinary mortality on that account, if this return, which is taken from the Parochial Register, be compared with the bills of mortality in the manufacturing towns of England, the result will be considerably in favour of Jamaica. In the large and opulent town of Manchester, for instance, the whole number of the inhabitants in 1778, comprehending Salford, was 29,151, and the average number of burials (dissenters included) for five preceding years was 959. If the mortality in Manchester had been in no greater proportion than in Kingston, the deaths would not have exceeded 813.

in excellent order, and tie in strength as I am told, with any fortress in the king's dominions.

... Cornwall contains five parishes, three towns, and six villages. The towns are Seyanna-la-Mee on the south side of the island, and Montego Bay and Falmouth on the north. The former was destroyed by a dreadful hurricane and inundation of the sea in 1780, as I have elsewhere related. It is now partly rebuilt, and may contain from sixty to seventy houses.

... Montego Bay, is a flourishing and opulent town; consisting of two hundred and twenty-five houses, thirty-three of which are capital stores or warehouses. The number of top-sail vessels which clear annually at this port are about one hundred and fifty, of which seventy are capital ships; but in this account are included part of those which enter at Kingston.

Falmouth, or (as it is more commonly called) *the Point*, is situated on the south side of Martha-Brae harbour, and, including the adjoining villages of Martha-Brae and the Rock, is composed of two hundred and twenty houses. The rapid increase of this town and neighbourhood within the last sixteen years is astonishing. In 1771, the three villages of Martha-Brae, Falmouth, and the Rock, contained together but eighteen houses; and the vessels which entered annually at the port of Falmouth did not exceed ten. At present it can boast of upwards of thirty

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capital stationed ships, which load for Great Britain, exclusive of sloops and smaller craft.

Each parish (or precinct consisting of an union of two or more parishes) is governed by a chief magistrate, styled *Custos Rotulorum*, and a body of justices unlimited by law as to number, by whom sessions of the peace are held every three months, and courts of Common Pleas to try actions arising within the parish or precinct; to an amount not exceeding twenty pounds. In matters of debt not exceeding forty shillings, a single justice is authorized to determine.

The whole twenty parishes contain eighteen churches and chapels,\* and each parish is provided with a rector, and other church officers; the rectors' livings, the presentation to which rests with the governor or commander in chief, are severally as follows, viz. St. Catherine 300*l.* per annum; Kingston, St. Thomas in the East, Clarendon, and Westmoreland, 250*l.* per annum; St. David, St. George, and Portland, 100*l.* per annum, all the rest 200*l.* per annum. These sums are paid in lieu of tythes by the churchwardens of the several parishes respectively, from the amount of taxes levied by the vestries on the inhabitants.

Each parish builds and repairs a parsonage house, or allows the rector 50*l.* per annum in

\* Two or three more have been erected since this account was written.

lieu of one; besides which, many of the livings have globe lands of very considerable value annexed to them, as the parish of St. Andrew, which altogether is valued at one thousand pounds sterling per annum.\* The bishop of London is said to claim this island as part of his diocese, but his jurisdiction is renounced and barred by the laws of the country; and the governor or commander in chief, as supreme head of the provincial church, not only inducts into the several rectories, on the requisite testimonials being produced that the candidate has been admitted into priest's orders according to the canons of the church of England, but he is likewise vested with the power of suspending a clergyman of lewd and disorderly life *ab officio*, upon application from his parishioners. A suspension *ab officio* is in fact a suspension *a beneficio*, no minister being entitled to his stipend for any longer time than he shall actually officiate, unless prevented by sickness.

The vestries are composed of the custos, and two other magistrates; the rector and ten vestrymen; the latter are elected annually by the freeholders. Besides their power of assessing and appropriating taxes, they appointed way-war-

\* In the year 1788, the assembly passed a law to prohibit the burial of the dead within the walls of the church; and as by this regulation several of the rectors were deprived of a perquisite, an augmentation of 50*l.* per annum was made to most of the livings.

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deans, and other labourers for the repair of the public highways. They likewise nominate constables, for the collection both of the public and parochial taxes.

The supreme court of Judicature for the whole island (commonly called the Grand Court, its possessing similar jurisdiction in this country to that of the several courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer in Great Britain) is held in the town of St. Jago de la Vega, the capital of the county of Middlesex, on the last Tuesday of each of the months of February, May, August, and November, in every year. In this court, the chief justice of the island presides, whose salary is only £200, but the perquisites arising from the office make it worth about £3,000 *per annum*. The assistant judges are gentlemen of the island, commonly planters, who receive neither salary nor reward of any kind for their attendance. Three judges must be present to constitute a court; and each term is limited in duration to three weeks. From this court, if the matter in dispute is a civil action for a sum of £300 sterling, or upwards, an appeal lies to the governor, and council as a court of error; if sentence of death be passed for felony, the appeal is to the governor alone.\*

\* By an early law of this island (passed in 1681) freeholders of known residence are not subject to arrest, and

As the courts also are held every three months, <sup>only</sup> in Kingston for the county of Surry, and in <sup>V.</sup> ~~St. Vincent~~ ~~la Mar~~ for the county of Cornwall. The Surry court begins the last Tuesday in January, April, July, and October. The Cornwall court begins the last Tuesday in March, June, September and December; each ~~session~~ <sup>term</sup> is limited to a fortnight in duration. Thus have the inhabitants law courts every month of the year, besides the court of chancery, ordinary, admiralty, and the several parish courts.\* The judges of

being held to bail in civil process. The mode of proceeding is, to deliver the party a summons (leaving it at his house is deemed good service) together with a copy of the declaration, fourteen days before the court, whereupon the defendant is bound to appear, the very next court, on judgment will pass by default. Twenty-eight days after the first day of each court execution issues; for which there is but one writ, comprehending both a *fi. fac.* and a *caption ad satisfactionem*; but as no general ~~indulgence~~ <sup>indulgence</sup> is allowed before judgment, it is enacted that the effects levied on shall remain in the defendant's hands until the next court, to give him an opportunity of disposing of them to the best advantage; and if he then fails paying over the money, a *venditioni exponas* issues to the marshal, to sell those, or any other goods, and take the person. The modern practice is to make no levy on the execution, whereby the debtor obtains the indulgence of one term, or court, after which both his person and goods are liable under the writ of *venditioni exponas*.

\* Soon after this was written an act was passed (I think in 1790) by which the August term in the supreme court

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the assize courts act without salary or reward, as well as the the assistant judges of the supreme court, any one of whom, if present, presides in the assize court. No appeal from the latter to the former is allowed, but judgments of the assize immediately following the supreme court, are considered as of one and the same court, and have an equal right, in point of priority, with those obtained in the grand court.

In this island, as in Barbadoes, the departments of council and attorney are distinct; and although in the island last-mentioned, barristers have been admitted by licence from the governor, it is otherwise in Jamaica; the colonial laws expressly requiring, that no person shall be allowed to practise who has not been regularly admitted in the courts of England, Ireland, or Scotland; or else (in the case of an attorney) who has not served as articled clerk to some sworn attorney or solicitor in the island for five years at least.

The governor, or commander in chief, is chancellor by his office, and presides solely in that high department, which is administered with great form and solemnity. He is also the sole ordinary for the probate of wills and granting letters of administration. From the

was abolished, and a long vacation established as in England, with similar regulations for the assize courts, to the great relief of persons attending as jurors.

first of the officers; he derives extensive authority, and from the latter considerable emolument.\*

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\* The profits and emoluments arising annually from the government of Jamaica may, I think, be stated nearly as follows, viz.

Salary	—	—	—	£. 5,000
Fees in Chancery	—	—	—	150
Fees of the Court of Ordinary	—	—	—	1,400
Share of Custom House Seizures	—	—	—	1,000

The assembly have purchased for the governor's use, a farm of about 300 acres, called the Government Penn, and built an elegant villa thereon. Likewise a plank or provision settlement in the mountains (which is also provided with a comfortable mansion-house) and stocked both properties with 50 negroes, and a sufficiency of cattle, sheep, &c. From these places (which are exclusive of the king's house in Spanish Town) the governor is, or ought to be, supplied with hay and corn, mutton, milk, poultry, and provisions for his domestics, creating a saving in his household expences of at least

Total in currency — — — £. 8,550

Being equal to 6,100*l.* sterling; and this is altogether exclusive of fees received by his private secretary for militia examinations, &c. &c. &c. which are not easily ascertained. It is supposed also that money has sometimes been made by the sale of church livings; and vast sums were formerly raised by escheats.

N. B. A governor of Jamaica may live very honourably for 3,000*l.* sterling per annum.---Since the former editions of this work were published, the assembly, at the request of the governor, have passed an act for the sale of

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As appendages of the supreme court, the several great offices, viz. the offices of enrollments, or secretary of the island, provost-marshal-general, clerk of the court (or prothonotary, *custos brevium*, &c.) are held and situated in Spanish Town. The first is an office of record, in which the laws passed by the legislature are preserved: and copies of them entered into fair volumes. In this office all deeds, wills, sales, and patents, must be registered. It is likewise required that all persons (after six weeks residence) intending to depart this island do affix their names in this office, twenty-one days before they are entitled to receive a ticket or let-pass, to enable them to leave the country. In order to enforce this regulation, masters of vessels are obliged, at the time of entry, to give security in the sum of 1,000*l.* not to carry off the island any person without such ticket or let-pass. Trustees, attornies, and guardians of orphans, are required to record annually in this office accounts of the produce of estates in their charge; and, by a late act, mortgages in possession are obliged to register not only accounts of the crops of each year, but also annual accounts current of their receipts and payments. Tran-

both the Government Penn and Mountain Polink, and in lieu thereof have settled an additional salary of 2,000*l.* currency on the Commander in Chief for the time being.

scripts of deeds, &c. from the office, properly certified, are evidences in any court of law, and all deeds must be enrolled within three months after date, or they are declared to be void against any other deed proved and registered within the time limited; but if no second deed is on record, then the same are valid, though registered after the three months. It is presumed that the profits of this office, which is held by patent from the crown, and exercised by deputation, exceed 6,000*l* sterling per annum.

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The provost-marshal-general is an officer of high rank and great authority. The name denotes a military origin, and the office was first instituted in this island in 1660, by royal commission to Sir Thomas Lynch. It is now held by patent from the crown, which is usually granted for two lives, and the patentee is permitted to act by deputy, who is commonly the highest bidder. The powers and authorities annexed to this office are various, and the acting officer is high sheriff of the whole island during his continuance in office, and permitted to nominate deputies under him for every parish or precinct. His legal receipts have been known to exceed 7,000*l* sterling per annum, and it is supposed that some of his deputies make nearly as much.

The office of clerk of the supreme court is likewise held by patent and exercised by deputation. Evidence was given to the house of

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assembly some years ago, that its annual value at that time exceeded 9,000*l.* currency. Of late I believe it is considerably diminished.

Of the other great lucrative offices the principal are those of the register in chancery, receiver-general and treasurer of the island, naval officer, and collector of the customs for the port of Kingston. All these appointments, whether held by patent or commission, are likewise supposed to afford considerable emolument to persons residing in Great Britain. It is computed on the whole, that not less than 30,000*l.* sterling is remitted annually, by the deputies in office within the island, to their principals in the mother-country.\*

\* It is not very pleasant to the resident inhabitants to observe, that almost all the patent offices in the colonies are exercised by deputies, who notoriously and avowedly obtain their appointments by purchase. Leases for years of some of them have been sold by auction; and nothing is more common, at the expiration of those leases, than the circumstances of an inferior clerk outbidding his employer (the resident deputy) and stepping into his place. It may be doubted whether both the seller and buyer in such cases are not subject to the penalties of the statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI. against the sale and purchase of offices relating to the administration of justice. By an excellent law, however, which passed in the administration of the present Marquis of Lansdown, then Earl of Shelburne, the grievance will in a great degree be prevented in future, for it is enacted by the 22d Geo. III. c. 75. that from thenceforth no office to be exercised in the plantations shall be granted by patent, for any longer term than during such time as the grantees thereof *shall discharge the duty in person.*

The legislature of Jamaica is composed of CHAP.  
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the captain-general or commander in chief, of a council nominated by the crown, consisting of twelve gentlemen, and a house of assembly containing forty-three members, who are elected by the freeholders, viz. three for the several towns and parishes of St. Jago-de-la Vega, Kingston, and Port Royal, and two for each of the other parishes. The qualification required in the elector, is a freehold of ten pounds per annum in the parish where the election is made; and in the representative, a landed freehold of three hundred pounds per annum, in any part of the island, or a personal estate of three thousand pounds. In the proceedings of the general assembly, they copy, as nearly as local circumstances will admit, the forms of the legislature of Great Britain; and all their bills (those of a private nature excepted) have the force of laws as soon as the governor's assent is obtained. The power of rejection however is still reserved in the crown; but until the royal disapprobation is signified, the laws are valid.


Of the laws thus passed, the principal relate chiefly to regulations of local policy, to which the law of England is not applicable, as the slave system for instance.\* In this and other cases,

\* Thus the evidence of a slave is not admissible against a white person. Again, although, by a very early law of this island, slaves are considered as inheritance, and are

**BOOK** ~~the~~ English laws being silent, the colonial legislature has made, and continues to make, such provision therein, as the exigencies of the colony are supposed to require; and on some occasions, where the principle of the English law has been adopted, it has been found necessary to alter and modify its provisions, so as to adapt them to circumstances and situation. Thus, in the mode of setting out emblements, the practice of fine and recovery, the case of insolvent debtors, the repair of the public roads, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor, very great deviations from the practice of the mother-country have been found indispensably requisite.\*

Accordingly subject to the incidents of real property (for as they go to the heir, so may the widow have dower of them, and the surviving husband be tenant by courtesy; and his holds equally whether slaves are possessed in gross, or belong to a plantation) yet in respect of debts, slaves are considered as chattels, and the executor is bound to inventory them like other chattels.

\* An outline of the law of insolvency may not be unacceptable to the reader.—A debtor, after three months continuance in actual confinement, may obtain his liberty under the following conditions: three weeks previous to the next sitting of the supreme court, he is to give notice by public advertisement, that he means to take the benefit of the act, and to that end, has lodged all his books of account in the hands of the marshal or keeper of the gaol, for inspection by his creditors. He shall then, on the first day of term, be brought by petition before the court, where he is to subscribe and deliver in a schedule of his whole estate and effects, and submit, if any one of his

The revenues of this island may be divided CHAP. V.  
 into two branches; the one *perpetual*, by an 

creditors require it, to an examination *viva voce*, upon oath, in open court. To this schedule he must annex an affidavit, certifying that it contains a just account of all his property, debts, and effects, except clothing, bedding, and working tools, not worth more than 10*l*.; that he has given no preference to any particular creditor, for three months previous to his confinement, nor conveyed away nor concealed any part of his estate or effects. The court thereupon, being satisfied with the prisoner's examination, shall appoint one or more of his creditors to be assignees for the benefit of the whole; and order them possession of the property and effects, and discharge the party from confinement. Gaol fees of those who are unable to pay them, are paid by the public. There are various regulations for the prevention of fraud, and it is declared, that if any persons claiming the benefit of the act shall knowingly forswear themselves, and be convicted of perjury in consequence thereof, they shall be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and suffer death accordingly. It is also provided that no debtor shall have the benefit of the act more than once, and that the future estate and effects of persons discharged under it (but not their persons or apparel) shall be liable to make up the former deficiency. By a subsequent law, however, which the Author of this work had the honour to propose, as a member of the assembly, a debtor may be discharged a second time on the same conditions, provided he had fully paid his former creditors before his second insolvency; and even if he has not paid the debts on which he before took the benefit of the act, he shall be discharged, after an actual confinement of two years; the court being satisfied that he has fairly surrendered all his estate and effects to the use of his creditors.

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act of the year 1728, called the revenue law, of the origin of which I have already spoken, and of which revenues the quit-rents constitute a part; the other *annual*, by grants of the legislature. The revenue law may raise about 12,000*l.* *per annum*, of which 8,000*l.* is particularly appropriated, as I have elsewhere observed, and the surplus is applicable to the contingent expenses of government, in aid of the annual funds. The governor receives 2,500*l.* *per annum* out of the 8,000*l.* fund. A further salary of 5,500*l.* is settled upon him during his residence in the island by a special act of legislature, passed the beginning of his administration, and is made payable out of some one of the annual funds provided by the assembly. These at this time may amount to 70,000*l.* of which about 40,000*l.* is a provision for granting an additional pay to the officers and soldiers of his majesty's forces stationed for the protection of the island. Every commissioned officer being entitled to 20*s.* per week, and every private to 5*s.* : an allowance is also made to the wives and children of the soldiers; which, with the British pay, enables them to live much more comfortably than the king's troops generally do in Europe.

The usual ways and means adopted for raising the above taxes are, first, a duty of 20*s.* per head on all negroes imported; secondly, a duty on

all rum and other spirits retailed and consumed within the island; thirdly, the deficiency law: an act which was intended originally to oblige all proprietors of slaves to keep one white person for every thirty blacks; but the penalty, which is sometimes 13*l.*, at other times 26*l.* *per annum*, for each white person deficient of the number required, is become so productive a source of revenue, that the bill is now considered as one of the annual supply bills: fourthly, a poll-tax on all slaves, and stock, and a rate on rents and wheel-carriages. Besides these, occasional tax-bills are passed by the legislature, as necessity may require. I have subjoined in a note the estimate of the contingent charges of the government of this island on the annual funds for the year 1788, and of the ways and means for the payment thereof.\*

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\* *Estimate of the ordinary CONTINGENT CHARGES of the Government of JAMAICA on the annual funds for the year 1788; viz.*

	£.	s.	d.
Governor's additional salary . . . . .	2,500	0	0
Subsistence of the Troops, and Hospital expenses . . . . .	41,300	0	0
Salaries to Officers of the Assembly, Printing, &c. . . . .	2,300	0	0
Clerk of the Grand Court . . . . .	100	0	0
Clerk of the Crown . . . . .	100	0	0
Clerk to the Commissioners of Forts . . . . .	150	0	0
Carried over . . . . .	46,450	0	0

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The current coins are Portugal pieces of gold; called the half-johannes, valued in England at 85s. each; these pass here, if of full

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	46,450	0	0
Surveyor to the Bath	200	0	0
Port Officers and Waiters	1,600	0	0
Maroon Negro Parties	1,000	0	0
Superintendants residing in the Maroon-Towns	1,300	0	0
To the Engineer and Captain of different Forts	1,000	0	0
For the support of the Botanic Garden	280	0	0
Salary to the Agent	420	0	0
To the Officers of the Troops for private Lodgings	1,430	0	0
Supplying the Forts with Water	1,089	0	0
To the Commissioners of the Forts	5,600	0	0
To the Kingston Hospital	500	0	0
Sundry Demands on the Public for Official Fees, Medical Care and Gaol Fees of Prisoners, Repairs of the Public Buildings, &c. &c.	4,359	7	9
Charges of Collecting; viz. Collecting Constable's and Receiver General's Commissions, Reliefs, &c. 15 per cent.	9,783	61	0
	<hr/>		
	£75,011 13 9		

## WAYS and MEANS.

	£.	s.	d.
Outstanding Debts	25,000	0	0
Negro Duty, computed at	6,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
Carried over	£31,000	0	0

weight, at 55s. Spanish gold coins current here, are, doubloons, at 5l. 5s. each, and pistoles at 26s. 3d. Silver coins are Spanish milled dollars at 6s. 8d. and so in proportion for the

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	£.	s.	d.
Brought over . . .	31,000	0	0
Ham Duty . . .	14,000	0	0
Double Deficiency on Ne- groes . . .	24,000	0	0
Poll-Tax . . .	67,000	0	0
	<u>£136,000</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Deduct for prompt Pay- ment 10 per cent. .	13,600	0	0
		<u>122,400</u>	<u>0 0</u>

The overplus was applied towards discharging the Public Debt, which was estimated at 180,000l. currency; but since then, the contingent charges of government have arisen annually to double the amount above stated, owing chiefly to a great augmentation of the British troops; the whole expense of raising and maintaining all which (above the number of 3,000) is thrown upon the island. Among these is a regiment of light-dragoons, which is mounted on horses bred in the country.

N. B. The situation of Jamaica, in respect to the expenses of its internal government and finances, has been strangely altered since the first publication of the preceding estimates. Its public debt and contingent expenses for 1796 came to no less than 298,303l. 1s. 3d. currency; and this sum was altogether exclusive of the expenses incurred by the war with the Maroon negroes, of which an account will hereafter be given, amounting to no less than 520,198l. 14s. 7d. currency. The committee of the Assembly by whom these estimates were reported, declare, at

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smaller parts of this coin; the lowest coin is called a *bitt*, equal to about 5*d.* sterling. A guinea passes for 3*2s.* 6*d.* This, however, is considerably more than the usual rate of exchange, by which 100*l.* sterling gives 140*l.* currency.

From the situation of this island amidst potent and envious rivals, and the vast disproportion between the number of white inhabitants and the slaves, it may be supposed that the maintenance of a powerful and well-disciplined militia is among the first objects of the policy of the legislature: accordingly all persons from fifteen to sixty years of age, are obliged by law to enlist themselves either in the horse or foot, and to provide at their own expense the necessary accoutrements; but this law, I doubt, is not very rigidly enforced, as the whole militia, which is composed of three regiments of horse and fourteen regiments of foot, does not consist of much more than 8,000 effective troops; neither do the usual employments and habits of life, either of the officers or privates, conduce very much to military subordination. — However, in times of actual danger, whether from the revolt of slaves, or the probability of inva-

the same time, that they find it impracticable to devise the means of answering a debt of such magnitude, and an application was made (but I believe without success) to the British government for a loan of 200,000*l.* sterling.

sion, no troops in the world could have shewn greater promptitude or alacrity in service, than has been displayed by the militia of Jamaica. In such emergencies, the commander in chief, with the advice and consent of a general council of war (in which the members of the assembly have voices) may proclaim martial law. His power is then dictatorial; and all persons are subject to the articles of war.\*

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From the given number of men able to bear arms in any country, it is usual with political writers to estimate the inhabitants at large; but their rule of calculation does not apply to Jamaica, where the bulk of the people consists of men without families. Europeans who come to this island have seldom an idea of settling here for life. Their aim is generally to acquire fortunes to enable them to sit down comfortably in their native country; and, in the meanwhile, they consider a family as an incumbrance. Marriage, therefore, being held in but little esti-

\* The following is a return of the cavalry and infantry on the 13th of January, 1792:

	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Total.
County of Surry	336	2,141	2,477
Middlesex	378	2,647	3,022
Corwall	368	2,305	2,673
Effectives			8,172

Free negroes and men of colour included; their number was 1,889. The Maroons were not comprehended.

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mation, the white women and children do not bear the same proportion to the males, as in European climates. From these and other causes, I have found it difficult to ascertain with precision the number of the white inhabitants. I have been informed, that a late intelligent chief governor (General Campbell) computed them, after diligent research, at 25,000; and I am induced to believe, from more than one mode of calculation, that General Campbell's estimate was near the truth.—This computation was made in 1780, since which time I am of opinion, from the many loyal Americans who have fixed themselves in Jamaica, and other causes, this number is considerably increased. Including the troops and seafaring people, the white population may, I think, be fixed at 30,000.

The freed negroes and people of colour are computed, in a report of a committee of the house of assembly of the 12th of November, 1788, at 500 in each parish, on an average of the whole; which makes 10,000, exclusive of the black people called Maroons, who enjoy freedom by treaty.\*

Of negroes in a state of slavery in this island, the precise number in December, 1787, as ascertained on oath in the rolls from which the poll-tax is levied, was 210,894; and as it may answer

\* See the historical account of the Maroons in the third volume.

more useful purposes hereafter than the mere gratification of curiosity, I shall distinguish the numbers in each parish, which are the following :

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| | |
|------------------------|---------|
| St. Dorothy | 3,129 |
| St. Catharine | 5,504 |
| St. John | 5,880 |
| St. Thomas in the Vale | 7,459 |
| Vere | 7,487 |
| St. Mary | 17,144 |
| St. Ann | 13,324 |
| Kingston | 6,162 |
| St. Andrew | 9,613 |
| St. David | 2,881 |
| St. Thomas in the East | 20,492 |
| Portland | 4,537 |
| St. George | 5,050 |
| St. Elizabeth | 13,280 |
| Hanover | 17,612 |
| St. James | 18,546 |
| Trelawney | 19,318 |
| Pert-Royal | 2,229 |
| Westmoreland | 16,700 |
| Clarendon | 14,747 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total | 210,894 |
| <hr/> | |

It appears, however, from the report of the committee of the assembly above cited, that in most of the parishes it is customary to exempt

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persons not having more than six negroes from the payment of taxes on slaves, whereby many of the negroes, especially in the towns,* are not given in to the different vestries, and the returns of a great many others are fraudulently concealed; thus the tax-rolls do not contain the full number of slaves, which, in the opinion of the committee, were at that time 240,000, at the least; and there is not a doubt that upwards of 10,000 have been left in the country from subsequent importations, exclusive of decrease. The whole number of inhabitants therefore, of all complexions and conditions, at this time (1794) may be stated as follows :

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|
| Whites | 30,000 |
| Freed negroes, and people of colour | 10,000 |
| Mascons, about | 1,400 |
| Negro slaves * | 250,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | 291,400 |
| | <hr/> |

The trade of this island will best appear by the quantity of shipping and the number of sea-

* In Kingston, for instance, the real number is 16,659, instead of 5,162, the number of the tax-rolls. On an average of the whole number of parishes, the negroes not given in or returned may be reckoned at one-seventh part of the whole.

† These are increased at this time (1797) to at least 300,000.

men to which it gives employment, and the nature and quantity of its exports. The following is an account, from the books of the Inspector General of Great Britain, of the number of vessels of all kinds, their registered tonnage and number of men, which cleared from the several ports of entry in Jamaica in the year 1787, exclusive of coasting sloops, wherries, &c. viz.

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| | Number of
Vessels. | Tonnage. | Men. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-------|
| For Great Britain . . | 242 | 63,471 | 7,748 |
| Ireland | 10 | 1,231 | 91 |
| American States | 133 | 13,041 | 893 |
| British American
Colonies | 66 | 6,133 | 449 |
| Foreign West In-
dies | 22 | 1,903 | 155 |
| Africa | 1 | 109 | 8 |
| Total . . | 474 | 85,888 | 9,344 |

It must, however, be observed, that as many of the vessels clearing for America and the foreign West Indies make two or more voyages in the year, it is usual, in computing the real number of those vessels, their tonnage and men, to deduct one-third from the official numbers. With this correction the total to all parts is 400 vessels, containing 78,862 tons, navigated by 8,845 men.

The exports for the same year are given on the same authority, as follows :

Inspector-General's Account of the JAMAICA EXPORTS, between the 5th of January, 1787, and the 5th of January, 1788; with the Value in Sterling Money, according to the Prices then current at the London Market.

| To what Parts. | Sugar. | Rum. | Melasses. | Pimento. | Coffee. | Cotton Wool. | Indigo. |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------------|--------------|---------|
| | Cwt. grs. lbs. | Gallons. | Gallons. | lbs. | Cwt. grs. lbs. | lbs. | lbs. |
| To Great Britain . | 824,706 8 25 | 1,890,540 | 2,316 | 606,994 | 3,706 3 27 | 1,899,976 | 27,223 |
| Ireland . | 6,889 0 0 | 106,700 | - | 2,800 | 10 0 0 | 5,500 | 400 |
| American States | 6,167 0 0 | 327,325 | 1,800 | 6,450 | 2,556 0 2 | - | - |
| British American Colonies } | 2,822 0 0 | 207,660 | 2,900 | 200 | 110 3 8 | 1,000 | - |
| Foreign West Indies } | 24 0 0 | 2,300 | - | - | 2 0 0 | - | - |
| Africa . | - | 3,600 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Totals . | 840,548 8 25 | 2,543,025 | 6,416 | 616,444 | 6,395 3 9 | 1,906,487 | 27,623 |

(continued.)

| To what PARTS. | Ginger. | Cacao. | Tobacco. | Mahogany. | Logwood. | Miscellaneous Articles. | Total Value. |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------|------------|----------|-------------------------|----------------|
| | Cent. grs. lbs. | Cent. grs. lbs. | lbs. | Tons. Cwt. | Tons. | Value.
L. s. d. | L. s. d. |
| To Great Britain . | 3,533 2 15 | 82 3 15 | 18,140 | 5,783 4 | 6,701 | 147,286 3 4 | 2,092,814 7 10 |
| Ireland . | 918 0 0 | - | - | 95 0 | - | - | 25,773 10 0 |
| American States | 339 0 0 | - | - | - | - | - | 60,995 18 0 |
| British American Colonies } | 4 0 0 | - | - | - | - | - | 26,538 2 5 |
| Foreign West Indies } | 2 0 0 | - | - | - | - | - | 355 19 0 |
| Africa . | - | - | - | - | - | - | 860 0 0 |
| Totals . | 4,816 2 15 | 82 3 15 | 18,140 | 5,878 4 | 6,701 | - | 2,136,442 17 6 |

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But it must be noted, that a considerable part of the cotton, indigo, tobacco, mahogany, dye-woods, and miscellaneous articles included in the preceding account, is the produce of the foreign West Indies imported into Jamaica, partly under the free-port law, and partly in small British vessels employed in a contraband traffic with the Spanish American territories, payment of which is made chiefly in British manufactures and negroes; and considerable quantities of bullion, obtained by the same means, are annually remitted to Great Britain, of which no precise accounts can be procured.*

The general account of imports into Jamaica will stand nearly as follows; viz.

* The preceding account having been made up for 1787, it may reasonably be supposed that the island has greatly increased its produce in the space of 10 years; and, it is true, that at this period (1797) the amount of its exports, according to their marketable value, would greatly exceed that of 1787, perhaps nearly one-third; but it is conceived, that the difference arises more from an advance of price in the several articles, than from any access in the quantity produced, coffee excepted. This increase of price has been chiefly owing to the destruction of most of the French islands, particularly St. Domingo: the British planters, on the other hand, have to set against it the increase of their internal taxes, for the support of a war establishment (besides additional insurance, freight, and other charges) to an amount never before known; those of Jamaica, in particular, have been subject to burthens to which this augmentation in the value of their exports was by no means commensurate. See p. 279, note at foot.

IMPORTS INTO JAMAICA.

| | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| From <i>Great Britain</i> ,
direct, according
to the return of the
Inspector-General
for 1787 | British manu-
factures | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |
| | Foreign mer-
chandize | 686,657 2 3
72,275 3 1 | 758,932 5 4 |
| From <i>Ireland</i> , I allow a moiety of the whole import
from that kingdom to the British West Indies,
consisting of manufactures and salted provisions
to the amount of 277,000 <i>l.</i> | | | |
| | | | 138,500 0 0 |
| From <i>Africa</i> , 5,345 negroes,* at 40 <i>l.</i> sterling each
—(This is wholly a British trade carried on in
ships from England) | | | |
| | | | 213,800 0 0 |
| From the <i>British Colonies in America</i> (including
about 20,000 quintals of salted cod from New-
foundland) | | | |
| | | | 30,000 0 0 |
| From the <i>United States</i> , Indian corn, wheat, flour,
rice, lumber, staves, &c. imported in British ships | | | |
| | | | 190,000 0 0 |
| From <i>Madeira and Teneriffe</i> , in ships trading circuit-
ously from Great Britain, 500 pipes of wine (ex-
clusive of wines for re-exportation) at 30 <i>l.</i> sterling
per pipe | | | |
| | | | 15,000 0 0 |
| From the <i>Foreign West Indies</i> , under the free-port law,
&c. calculated on an average of three years† . . . | | | |
| | | | 150,000 0 0 |
| Total . . . | | | £1,496,232 5 4 |

* Being an average of the whole number imported and retained in the island for ten years, 1778 to 1787, as returned by the Inspector-General. The import of the last three years is much greater.

† From returns of the Inspector-General. The following are the particulars for the year 1787.

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| Cotton Wool | 194,000 lbs. |
| Cacao | 64,750 lbs. |
| Cattle, viz. | |
| Asses | 43 |
| Horses | 233 |
| Mules | 585 |
| Oxen | 243 |
| Sheep | 98 |
| — | |
| Dying woods | 1,292 No. |
| Gum Guaiacum | 5,077 Tons. |
| Hides | 79 Barrels. |
| Indigo | 4,537 No. |
| Mahogany | 4,663 lbs. |
| Tortoise Shell | 9,993 Planks. |
| Dollars | 653 lbs. |
| | 53,850 No. |

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Some part of this estimate, however, is not so perfect as might be wished ; inasmuch as in the accounts made up at the Inspector-General's office of goods exported from Great Britain, they reckon only the original cost, whereas the British merchant being commonly the exporter, the whole of his profits, together with the freight, insurance, and factorage commissions in the island, should be taken into the account, because the whole are comprised in one charge against the planter. On the British supply, therefore, I calculate that *twenty per cent.* should be added for those items ; which makes the sum total 1,648,018*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* sterling money.

After all, it is very possible that some errors may have crept into the calculation, and the balance or surplus arising from the excess of the exports, may be more or less than appears by the statement which I have given ; but this is a consideration of little importance in a national view, inasmuch as the final profit arising from the whole system ultimately rests and centres in Great Britain ;—a conclusion which was well illustrated formerly by the Lords Commissioners for trade and plantations, in a report made by them on the state of the British sugar colonies in the year 1784 ; an extract from which, as it serves likewise to point out the progress of this island during the last fifty years, I shall present to the reader.

“ The annual amount (say their Lordships) of our exports to Jamaica, at a medium of four years, from Christmas 1728 to Christmas 1732, as it stands computed in the custom-house books, appears to have been £ 147,675 2 3½

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The medium of our imports* from Jamaica, in the same year, is £ 539,499 18 3½

So that the annual excess of our imports in that period is no less than £ 391,824 15 11½

“ But it must not be imagined, that this excess is a debt upon Great Britain to the island of Jamaica; a part of it must be placed to the account of Negroes, and other goods, sent to the Spanish West Indies, the produce of which is returned to England by way of Jamaica; another part to the debt due to our African traders from the people of Jamaica, for the Negroes which are purchased and remain there for the service of the island; a third proportion must be placed to the account of our Northern Colonies on the continent of America, who discharge part of their balance with Great Britain by consignments from Jamaica, arising from the provisions and lumber with

* The custom-house prices of goods imported are considerably less than the real or mercantile prices—perhaps, in general, about one-third.

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which they supply that island; the remaining part of the excess in our importations from this colony, is a profit made upon our trade, whether immediately from Great Britain, or by way of Africa; and lastly, it is a consideration of great importance in the general trade of Great Britain, that part of the sugar, and other merchandize which we bring from Jamaica, is re-exported from hence, and helps to make good our balance in trade with other countries in Europe."

Having mentioned the trade which is carried on between this island and the Spanish territories in America, some account of it in its present state, and of the means which have been adopted by the British parliament to give it support; may not be unacceptable to my readers. It is sufficiently known to have been formerly an intercourse of vast extent, and highly advantageous to Great Britain, having been supposed to give employment, about the beginning of the present century, to 4,000 tons of English shipping, and to create an annual vent of British goods to the amount of one million and a half in value. From the wretched policy of the court of Spain towards its American subjects, by endeavouring to compel them to trust solely to the mother country, for almost every article of necessary consumption, at the very time that she was incapable of supplying a fiftieth part

of their wants, it is not surprising that they had recourse, under all hazards, to those nations of Europe which were able and willing to answer their demands. It was in vain that the vessels employed in this traffic, by the English and others, were condemned to confiscation, and the mariners to perpetual confinement and slavery; the Spanish Americans supplied the loss by vessels of their own, furnished with seamen so well acquainted with the several creeks and bays, as enabled them to prosecute the contraband with facility and advantage. These vessels received every possible encouragement in our islands; contrary, it must be acknowledged, to the strict letter of our acts of navigation; but the British government, aware that the Spaniards had little to import besides bullion, but horned cattle, mules, and horses, (so necessary to the agriculture of the sugar colonies) connived at the encouragement that was given them. The trade, however, has been for many years on the decline. Since the year 1748, a wiser and more liberal policy towards its American dominions seems to have actuated the court of Madrid; and the contraband traffic has gradually lessened, in proportion as the rigour of the ancient regulation has been relaxed. Nevertheless the intercourse with this island, in Spanish vessels, was still very considerable so late as the year 1764. About that period, directions were issued by

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the English ministry to enforce the laws of navigation with the utmost strictness; and custom-house commissions were given to the captains of our men of war, with orders to seize all foreign vessels without distinction, that should be found in the ports of our West Indian islands; a measure which in truth was converting our navy into *guarda-costas* for the King of Spain. In consequence of these proceedings, the Spaniards, as might have been expected, were deterred from coming near us, and the exports from Great Britain to Jamaica alone, in the year 1765, fell short of the year 1763, 168,000*l.* sterling.

A wiser ministry endeavoured to remedy the mischief, by giving orders for the admission of Spanish vessels as usual; but the subject matter being canvassed in the British parliament, the nature and intent of those orders were so fully explained, that the Spanish court, grown wise from experience, took the alarm, and immediately adopted a measure, equally prompt and prudent, for counteracting them. This was, the laying open the trade to the islands of Trinidad, Porto-Rico, Hispaniola, and Cuba, to every province in Spain, and permitting goods of all kinds to be sent thither, on the payment of moderate duties. Thus the temptation of an illicit commerce with foreign nations being in a great measure removed,

there was reason to believe that the effect would cease with the cause.

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Such, however, is the superiority or comparative cheapness of British manufactures, that it is probable the trade would have revived to a certain degree, if the British ministry of 1765, after giving orders for the admission of Spanish vessels into our ports in the West Indies, had proceeded no further. But, in the following year, they obtained an act of parliament for opening the chief ports of Jamaica and Dominica, to all foreign vessels of a certain description. The motives which influenced the framers of this law, were undoubtedly laudable; they justly considered the recovery of the Spanish trade as a matter of the utmost consequence, and concluded that the traders would naturally prefer those ports, in which their safety was founded on law, to places where their preservation depended only on the precarious tenure of connivance and favour. Other ostensible reasons were assigned in support of the measure; but the jealousy of Spain was awakened, and the endeavours of the British parliament on this occasion, served only to increase the evil which was meant to be redressed. By an unfortunate oversight, the collectors at the several British free-ports were instructed to keep regular accounts of the entry of all foreign vessels, and of the bullion which they

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imported, together with the names of the commanders. These accounts having been transmitted to the commissioners of the customs in England, copies of them were, by some means, procured by the court of Spain, and the absolute destruction of many of the poor people who had been concerned in transporting bullion into our islands, was the consequence. This intelligence I received soon afterwards (having at that time the direction of the custom-house in Jamaica) from a very respectable Spanish merchant, who produced to me a letter from Carthagena, containing a recital of the fact, accompanied with many shocking circumstances of unrelenting severity in the Spanish government. Information of this being transmitted to the British ministry, the former instructions were revoked, but the remedy came too late;—for what else could be expected, than that the Spaniards would naturally shun all intercourse with a people whom neither the safety of their friends, nor their own evident interest, was sufficient to engage to confidence and secrecy?

The little trade, therefore, which now subsists with the subjects of Spain in America, is chiefly carried on by small vessels from Jamaica, which contrive to escape the vigilance of the *guarda-costas*. But although with regard to the revival of this particular branch of commerce, I am of opinion that the free-port law has not so

fully answered the expectation of its framers, as might have been wished ; its provisions, in other respects, have been very beneficial. It has been urged against it, that it gives occasion to the introduction of French wines, brandies, soap, cambrics, and other prohibited articles from Hispaniola ; and there is no doubt that small vessels from thence frequently claim the benefit of the free ports, after having smuggled ashore in the various creeks and harbours of this island, where no custom-houses are established, large quantities of brandy (to the great prejudice of the rum market) and other contraband goods. It may be urged too, that the permission given by the act to the importation of certain of the products of the foreign islands, is hurtful to the growers of the same commodities in Jamaica. All this is admitted ; but on the other hand, considering the revenues and commerce of the empire at large as objects of superior concern to local interests, it cannot be denied, that the woollen and cotton manufactories of Great Britain are of too great importance not to be supplied with the valuable materials of indigo and cotton-wool, on the easiest and cheapest terms possible. The quantities of these articles, as well as of woods for the dyer, imported in foreign bottoms into free ports, are very considerable. This subject was thoroughly investigated by the British House of Commons in 1774 (when the act would have expired ;) and

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it being given in evidence that thirty thousand people about Manchester were employed in the velvet manufactory, for which the St. Domingo cotton was best adapted; and that both French cotton and indigo had been imported from Jamaica at least thirty per cent. cheaper than the same could have been procured at through France—the House, disregarding all colonial opposition, came to a resolution, “that the continuance of free-ports in Jamaica would be highly beneficial to the trade and manufactures of the kingdom.” The act was thereupon renewed, and has since been made perpetual.

But the main argument which was originally adduced in defence of the establishment of free-ports in Jamaica, was founded on the idea that those ports would become the great mart for supplying foreigners with negroes. It was said, that in order to have negroes plenty in our own islands, every encouragement must be thrown out to the African merchant, to induce him to augment his importations, and that no encouragement was so great as that of an opportunity of selling part of them to foreigners for ready money: a temptation, it was urged, which would be, as it heretofore had been, the means that a number would be imported sufficient both for the planter’s use and for the foreign demand; and it was added, that at all events the French would deal with us if the Spaniards would not.

Whether it be a wise and politic measure at any time to permit British subjects to supply foreigners with African labourers, is a question that may admit of dispute.* I mean, at present, to confine myself only to a recital of facts; and it is certain that the very great demand for negroes in the Ceded Islands, for some years after the act took place, affected the Jamaica import in a high degree; and in 1773, a circumstance occurred which was thought to render a renewal of the free-port law a measure of indispensable necessity. In that year the Spanish Assiento Company at Porto-Rico obtained permission to remove their principal factory to the Havanna, and to purchase slaves in any of the neighbouring islands, transporting them to their own settlements in Spanish vessels. It was easily foreseen, that Jamaica, from its vicinity to the chief colonies of Spain, in which negroes were most in de-

* The re-export of negroes from the British West Indies, for the last twenty years, for the supply of the French and Spanish plantations, has not, I believe, exceeded one-fifth of the import. It was greater formerly, and during the existence of the Assiento contract, exceeded *one third*.—Perhaps it would be found on the whole, that Great Britain has, by this means, during the last century, supplied her rivals and enemies with upwards of 500,000 African labourers; a circumstance which sufficiently justifies the doubt that I entertain concerning the wisdom and policy of this branch of the African commerce.

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mand, would engage a preference from the purchasers; wherefore, that encouragement might not be wanting, the British parliament not only renewed the free-port law, but also took off the duty of thirty shillings sterling a head, which, in the former act, was exacted on the exportation of negroes, and laid only a duty of two shillings and sixpence in lieu of it. The result was—that the import for the next ten years, exceeded that of the ten years preceding, by no less than 22,213 negroes; and the export surpassed that of the former period, to the number of 5,952. Such part, therefore, of this increased export, as went to the supply of the Spanish colonies, we may attribute to the free-port laws; for it is probable, from the circumstances stated, that the ancient contraband system is nearly at an end. In like manner it may be said of the importation of foreign indigo and cotton, that if it be not made in foreign vessels, it will cease altogether; and thus, instead of infringing the navigation-act, as some persons contend, the measure of opening the ports is strictly consonant to the spirit of that celebrated law; for, by furnishing an augmentation of freights to Great Britain, it tends ultimately to the increase of our shipping.

Having now, to the best of my judgment and knowledge, furnished my readers with such particulars as may enable them to form a tolerably correct idea of the present trade and productions



of Jamaica, I shall conclude with a concise display of its progress in cultivation at different periods, for a century past. CHAP.
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By a letter, dated March the 29th, 1673, from the then governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, to Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State, it appears, that the island at that time contained 7,768 whites, and 9,504 negroes ; its chief productions were cacao, indigo, and hides. “ The weather,” observes the governor, “ has been seasonable, and the success in planting miraculous. Major-General Banister is now not very well, but by the next, *he sends your lordship a pot of sugar, and writes you its story.*” It would seem from hence, that the cultivation of sugar was then but just entered upon, and that Blome, who asserts there were seventy sugar-works in 1670, was misinformed. So late as the year 1722, the island made only eleven thousand hogsheads of sugar, of sixteen hundred weight.

From that time I have no authentic account until the year 1734, when the island contained 7,644 whites,* 86,546 negroes, and 76,011 head of cattle. The value of the imports from this island to Great Britain, about this period, were

* The circumstance of the decrease of the white inhabitants for the first sixty years may appear strange. It was owing, without doubt, to the decline of the privateering trade, which gave full employment to the first adventurers.

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stated (as we have seen) by the commissioners of Trade, at 539,499*l.* 18. 3½. sterling. Of the particulars I have no account. In the year 1739, the export of sugar was 33,155 hogsheads, of 14 cwt.

In 1744, the numbers were 9,640 whites, 112,428 negroes, and 88,036 head of cattle. The exports at this period, were about 35,000 hogsheads of sugar, and 10,000 puncheons of rum, exclusive of smaller articles. The whole might be worth 600,000*l.* sterling.

In 1768, the whites were supposed to have been 17,000. The number of negroes on the tax-rolls were 166,914, and the cattle 135,773 head. The exports (the value of which could not be less at that time than 1,400,000*l.* sterling) were these :

EXPORTS FROM JAMAICA, 1768.

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}

	Hides of Sugar, of 16 cwt.	Pins. of Rum, of 100 gallons.	Bags of Pimento, to, of 100 lbs.	Bags of Ginger, of 70 lbs.	Bags of Cotton, of 200 lbs.	Bags of Coffee, of 100 lbs.	Tons of Fustic and Logwood.	Feet of Mahog- gany.	Tons of Lig- Vine.	Tons of Nic. Wood and Ebony.	Galls. of Molasses.	Hides.	Miscella- neous Articles.
To Great Britain and Ireland	54,181	11,127	13,116	2,551	2,311	1,491	4,035	443,920	120	26	—	—	£. s. d.
To North America	1,580	4,424	738	680	252	2,712	—	424,080	—	—	201,960	2,287	Value un- known.
Total - -	55,761	15,551	13,854	3,171	2,463	4,203	4,035	868,000	120	26	201,960	2,287	

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Cultivation, in all parts of Jamaica, was now making a great and rapid progress. In 1774, the exports were considerably increased. The following account of them is extracted from the books of office, kept within the island.

## EXPORTS FROM JAMAICA, 1774.

	Hhds. of Sugar, of 16 cwt.	Pans. of Rum, of 110 gallons.	Bags of Coffee, of 100 lbs.	Barrels of Indi- go, of 300 lbs.	Bags of Cin- ger, of 70 lbs.	Bags of Pimen- to, of 100 lbs.	Casks of ditto, of 300 lbs.	Bags of Cotton, of 200 lbs.	Hds. of Me- lasses, 60 gals.	Tons of Log- wood, and Fustic.	Feet of Maho- gany.	Hides.
To Great Britain and Ireland	76,344	17,348	3,681	437	2,348	13,797	276	2,022	69	1,286½	117,200	656
To North America	1,960	8,726	2,863	1	579	552	47	88	951	26½	12,080	8,636
Total . . .	78,304	26,074	6,547	438	2,927	14,349	323	2,110	1,020	1,313	129,280	9,292

The amount of the sum total, according to the prices current, including the same allowance for miscellaneous articles, of which no precise account can be obtained, as was allowed by the Inspector-General for the year 1787, may be fairly stated at two millions of pounds sterling.

But Jamaica had now nearly attained the meridian of its prosperity;\* for early in the following year, the fatal and unnatural war which has terminated in the dismemberment of the empire, began its destructive progress; in the course of which, the blameless inhabitants of this and the rest of the British sugar islands, felt all its effects without having merited the slightest imputation on their conduct. Their sources of supply for plantation necessities were cut off, and protection at sea, if not denied, was not given; so that their produce was seized in its way to Great Britain, and confiscated without interruption or mercy. To fill up the measure of their calamities, the anger of the Almighty was kindled against them;—no less than five destructive hurricanes in the space of seven

\* The greatest improvement which Jamaica has manifested since 1774, has been in the increased number of its coffee plantations. In that year, the export of coffee, as we have seen, was 654,700lbs. In 1780, the crop having been shipped before the hurricane happened, the export was 735,392 lbs. For the last ten years, see the Appendix, N° II.

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years, as I have elsewhere observed, spread ruin and desolation throughout every island! The last of these terrible visitations in Jamaica, happened in 1786. Since that time, however, the seasons have been favourable; and the crops of 1788, 1789, and 1790, were considerable. May the inhabitants be thankful that it has thus pleased the Divine Providence to remember mercy in judgment; and may past misfortunes teach them those lessons of fortitude, frugality, and foresight, which always alleviate afflictions, and sometimes even convert them into blessings.

Nothing now remains but to state the value of this island, considered as British property; of which the estimate is formed as follows;—250,000 negroes at fifty pounds sterling each, make twelve millions and a half; the landed and personal property to which these negroes are appurtenant (including the buildings) are very fairly and moderately reckoned at double the value of the slaves themselves; making twenty-five millions in addition to the twelve millions five hundred thousand pounds I have stated before; and in further addition, the houses and property in the towns, and the vessels employed in the trade, are valued at one million five hundred thousand pounds; amounting in the whole to thirty-nine millions of pounds sterling.

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In this delightful island, thus variegated by the hand of Nature, and improved by the industry of man, it was my fortune to pass the spring of my life under the protection and guidance of men whose wisdom instructed, whose virtues I hope improved me,—and whose tenderness towards me expired only with the last sigh that deprived me of them for ever. Towards persons whose memories are thus dear to me,—who were once a blessing and an ornament to the country of which I write,—my readers will I hope allow me to offer in this place a tribute of affectionate and respectful remembrance. One of those persons devoted some years to the improvement of my mind in the pursuits of knowledge. From the precepts and instructions, and still more from the beautiful compositions of ISAAC TEALE, I imbibed in my youth that relish for polite literature, the enjoyment of which is now become the solace of my declining years. If the public has received my writings with favour, it becomes me to declare that, whatever merit they possess is due to the lessons inculcated, and the examples supplied by my revered and lamented friend. He was a clergyman of the church of England, and having for twenty years discharged the pastoral duties of a

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country curacy in an obscure part of Kent, was reluctantly prevailed on, at the age of forty-five, to exchange his stipend of 40*l.* per annum, for preferment in Jamaica. Here his virtues, learning, and talents, attracted the notice of my distinguished relation and bountiful benefactor, ZACHARY BAYLY; by whose kindness he was enabled to spend the remainder of his days in leisure and independency. In the society of these valuable friends, chiefly under the same roof, I passed the days of my youth, until my amiable preceptor in the first place, and my generous benefactor a few years afterwards (neither of them having reached his 50th year) sunk into an untimely grave! Of Zachary Bayly, the renown is familiar to every one who has resided in Jamaica at any time during the last forty years. I endeavoured to delineate his character on the stone which I inscribed to his memory; and fondly hoping that my book will be read where the stone cannot be inspected, I transfer to this page what his monument imperfectly records:

*Inscription in the Parish Church of St. Andrew,  
Jamaica.*

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—  
Near this place  
lie the remains of  
ZACHARY BAYLY,  
Custos and Chief Magistrate of the precinct  
of St. Mary and St. George, and one of his Majesty's  
Hon : Council of this Island,  
Who died on the 18th Dec. 1769,  
in the 48th year of his age.

He was a Man  
To whom the endowments of Nature render'd those  
of Art superfluous.  
He was wise without the assistance of recorded wisdom,  
And eloquent beyond the precepts of scholastic  
rhetoric.

He applied, not to Books, but to Men,  
And drank of Knowledge,  
not from the stream, but the source.

To Genius, which might have been fortunate with-  
out Industry,  
He added Industry, which, without Genius, might  
have commanded Fortune.

He acquired Wealth with Honour,  
And seemed to possess it only to be liberal.

His Public Spirit  
was not less ardent than his Private Benevolence :  
He considered Individuals as Brethren,  
And his Country as a Parent.

May his Talents be remembered with respect,  
His Virtues with emulation !

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Here also lies  
(mingled with the same earth) the dust of  
NATHANIEL BAYLY EDWARDS,  
his Nephew :

In whom distinguished abilities and an amiable  
disposition,  
assisted by such an example,  
gave the promise of equal excellence ;  
When, on the 28th of January, 1771,  
in the 21st year of his age,  
He paid the debt to Nature :

His surviving Brother,  
BRYAN EDWARDS,  
Inscribes this Stone as a memorial of his Gratitude,  
Affection, and Esteem.

## APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

No. 1.

*A general state of Agriculture, and Negro population in the island of Jamaica, at the close of 1791, from the report of a Committee of the House of Assembly.*

	Number.	Negroes employed thereon.
Sugar plantations . . .	767	140,000
Coffee plantations . . .	607	21,000
Grazing and breeding farms, called pennis . . . }	1,047	31,000
Of small settlements for the growth of cotton, ginger, pi- mentö, corn, and other pro- visions, the number is not ascertained: they are sup- posed (including the Negroes in the several towns) to give employment to . . . }		58,000
Total number of enslaved Negroes in Jamaica in 1791 . . . }		250,000

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## No. II.

*An account of the number of sugar plantations in the island of Jamaica in 1772, and again in 1791, distinguishing the parishes; also the number in each parish which were sold, in the interim, for the payment of debts;—the number remaining in 1791 in the hands of mortgagees, trustees, or receivers;—the number thrown up and abandoned, or converted into other cultivation between the two periods:—and the number of new plantations recently settled, or which were settling, at the end of the last period.*

PARISHES.	Plantations in the hands of the proprietors	Sold for the payment of debts since 1772	In the hands of mortgagees, trustees or receivers	Abandoned since 1772	New plantations in 1791
Westmorland	39	7	16	11	4
Hanover	40	22	9	4	8
St. James	49	13	15	3	6
St. Elizabeth	16	2	3	11	2
Trelawny	65	14	4	1	7
Total in the County of Cornwall	209	58	47	30	27

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PARISHES.	Plantations in the hands of the pro- prietors.	Sold for the pay- ment of debts since 1772	In the hands of mortgagees, trus- tees or receivers	Abandoned since 1772	New plantations in 1792
St. Mary - - -	37	21	8	0	2
Clarendon - - -	37	18	2	1	2
Vere - - -	22	3	1	1	3
St. Dorothy - - -	6	6	0	0	3
St. John - - -	13	3	3	1	0
St. Katharine - - -	2	1	0	3	1
St. Thomas in } the Vale	17	13	3	3	0
St. Anne - - -	15	9	6	2	1
<hr/>					
Total in the County } of Middlesex	149	74	23	11	12
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St. Andrew - - -	14	8	2	1	0
Port Royal - - -	3	0	0	1	0
Portland - - -	15	6	1	4	2
St. George - - -	7	3	4	3	5
St. Thomas in } the East	48	23	14	5	0
St. David's - - -	6	5	1	0	1
Kingston - - -	0	0	0	0	0
<hr/>					
Total in the County } of Surry	93	45	22	14	8
<hr/>					
GRAND TOTAL -	451	177	92	55	47

*Summary.*

Existing plantations in 1791	- - - -	720
Plantations then recently settled or settling		47
		<hr/>
Total number of sugar estates in 1791	-	767
		<hr/>

*Observations.*

From the preceding table it is sufficiently obvious, that in the course of twenty years, ending 1791, the planters of Jamaica (however profitably employed in the service of the mother-country) were labouring to little purpose for themselves : it appearing that no less than 177 sugar plantations had been sold, during that period, for the payment of debts ;—that 55 had been abandoned by the proprietors, and that 92 others remained in the hands of creditors ! Since the year 1791, a favourable change has taken place, and it is presumed that at this time (December 1797) near 200,000 negroes are employed solely in the cultivation of sugar ; but the most rapid improvement which this island has experienced is a vast increase in the growth of coffee. The following is an authentic return from the naval officer :—viz.

ACCOUNT of COFFEE exported from the Island of  
JAMAICA for 10 Years, viz. 1787, to 1797 :

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		lbs. to Great Britain.	lbs. to America.
From 1st August 1787, to 1st August			
	1788	808,528	393,273
	1789	1,204,649	382,489
	1790	1,412,241	427,130
	1791	2,114,326	291,764
	1792	2,708,548	144,849
	1793	3,543,003	69,657
	1794	4,314,290	257,103
	1795	4,452,611	1,479,961
	1796	5,273,814	1,757,444
	1797	6,708,272	1,223,349
Total - -		32,540,282	6,427,019

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*\*.\* In the former editions of this work was sub-joined to this Appendix, an Historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica, which being found by the printer too long for the first volume of this edition, is now transferred to volume the third.*

## BOOK III.

### ENGLISH CHARAIBEAN ISLANDS.

#### CHAPTER I.

#### BARBADOES.

*First arrival of the English at this island.—Origin, progress, and termination of the proprietary government.—Revenue granted to the crown of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per centum on all produce exported—how obtained.—Origin of the act of navigation.—Situation and extent of the island.—Soil and produce.—Population.—Decline, and causes thereof.—Exports and imports.*

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THE island of Barbadoes, of which I now propose to treat, was probably first discovered by the Portuguese in their voyages from Brasil ; and from them it received the name which

it still retains.* It was found without occupants or claimants. The Charaibes, for reasons altogether unknown to us, had deserted it, and the Portuguese, satisfied with the splendid regions they had acquired on the continent, seem to have considered it as of little value. Having furnished it with a breed of swine for the benefit of such of their countrymen as might navigate the same track, they left the island in all other respects as they found it.

Of the English, the first who are known to have landed in this island were the crew of a ship called the *Olive Blossom*, bound from London to Surinam, in 1605, and fitted out at the expense of Sir Olive Leigh, whom Purchas styles ‘a worshipful knight of Kent.’ Finding it without inhabitants, they took possession of the country, by fixing up a cross on the spot where *James-Town* was afterwards built, with this inscription, “James king of England and this island;” but they began no settlement, nor made any considerable stay in a country entirely uninhabited and overgrown with woods; yet it furnished them with fresh provisions. They found pigs, pigeons, and parrots, and the sea abounded with fish,

Some years after this, a ship of Sir William

* It is said not to have been noticed in any sea-chart before the year 1600.

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Courteen's, a merchant of London, returning from Brazil, was driven by stress of weather into this island, and finding refreshments on it, the master and seamen, on their arrival in England, made so favourable a report of the beauty and fertility of the country, that Lord Ley (afterwards earl of Marlborough, and Lord High Treasurer) immediately obtained from King James the First a grant of the island to himself and his heirs in perpetuity.

Courteen himself was a man of extensive views and magnificent projects. He immediately began, (probably under the patronage of Marlborough) to form ideas of establishing a colony in the distant but promising territory. Having engaged about thirty persons to settle in the island, and furnished them with tools, provisions and necessaries of all kinds for planting and fortifying the country, he appointed William Deane their governor, and sent them away in a ship called the *William and John*, commanded by John Powell. They arrived safe in the latter end of the year 1624, and laid the foundations of a town, which, in honour of the sovereign, they denominated James-Town; and thus began the first English settlement in the island of Barbadoes.

For some time previous to this, it had become fashionable in England, for men of high rank and distinction to engage in sea adventures, proclaiming themselves the patrons of

colonization and foreign commerce. In the list of those who contributed to the British settlements in Virginia, New England, the Bermuda islands, and other places in the New World, may be found the names of many of the first nobility and gentry of the kingdom. Among others who distinguished themselves in such pursuits, at the time that Barbadoes was thus planted by a private merchant, was James Hay, earl of Carlisle. This nobleman was at that juncture engaged in the establishment of a colony in the island of St. Christopher (as we shall hereafter have occasion more particularly to relate) and, either not knowing of the Earl of Marlborough's patent, or conceiving that it interfered with his own pretensions,\* he applied for and obtained, in the first year of Charles I. a warrant for a grant, by letters patent under the great seal of England, of all the Charaibean islands, including Barbadoes; but when the grant came to be actually passed, the Earl of Marlborough opposed it on the ground of priority of right. The dispute between these noble lords continued for a considerable time; at length the contending parties thought it pru-

\* It is said that he had obtained from James I. a grant, or warrant for a grant, under the great seal of all the Charaibean islands, which the king erected into a province by the name of *Carliola*, on the model of the palatinate of *Durham*.

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dent to compromise the matter, and on the Earl of Carlisle's undertaking to pay the annual sum of 300*l.* to the Earl of Marlborough and his heirs for ever, Marlborough waved his patent, and, in consequence of this arrangement, on the 2d of June, 1627, the Earl of Carlisle's patent passed the great seal, who thereupon became sole proprietor.\*

\* Among other clauses in this grant are the following:  
 “Further know ye, that we, for us our heirs and successors, have authorised and appointed the said *James, Earl of Carlisle*, and his heirs (of whose fidelity, prudence, justice, and wisdom we have great confidence) for the good and happy government of the said province, whether for the public security of the said province or the private utility of every man, to make, erect, and set forth, and under his or their signet to publish, such laws as he the said Earl of *Carlisle*, or his heirs, *with the consent, assent, and approbation of the free inhabitants of the said province or the greater part of them, thereunto to be called*, and in such form as he or they in his or their discretion shall think fit and best. And these laws must all men for time being, that do live within the limits of the said province, observe; whether they be bound to sea, or from thence returning to *England*, or any other our dominions, or any other place appointed, upon such impositions, penalties, imprisonment, or restraint that it behoveth, and the quality of the offence requireth, either upon the body, or death itself, to be executed by the said *James, Earl of Carlisle*, and by his heirs, or by his or their deputy, judges, justices, magistrates, officers, and ministers, according to the tenor and true meaning of these presents, in what cause soever, and with such power, as to him the said *James, Earl of Carlisle*, or his heirs, shall seem best; and to dispose of

During this contest about the disposal of OMAN.  
countries most of which were at that time in the 11

offences or riots whatsoever, either by sea or land, whether before judgment received, or after remitted, freed, pardoned, or forgiven; and to do and to perform all and every thing and things, which to the fulfilling of justice, courts or manner of proceeding in their tribunal, may or doth belong or appertain, although express mention of them in these presents be not made; yet we have granted full power by virtue of these presents therein to be made; which laws so absolutely proclaimed, and by strength of right supported as they are granted, we will enjoin, charge, and command all and every subject and liege people of us, our heirs and successors, so far as them they do concern, inviolably to keep and observe, under the pains therein expressed; so as notwithstanding the aforesaid laws be agreeable and not repugnant unto reason, nor against it; but as convenient and agreeable as may be to the laws, statutes, customs, and rights of our kingdom of *England*."—"We will also, of our princely grace, for us, our heirs, and successors, straightly charge, make, and ordain, that the said province be of our allegiance, and that all and every subject and liege people of us, our heirs, and successors, brought or to be brought, and their children, whether there born or afterwards to be born, become natives and subjects of us, our heirs, and successors, and be as free as they that were born in *England*; and so their inheritance within our kingdom of *England*, or other our dominions, to seek, receive, take, hold, buy, and possess, and use and enjoy them as his own, and to give, sell, alter, and bequeath them at their pleasure; and also freely, quietly, and peaceably, to have and possess all the liberties, franchises, and privileges of this kingdom, and them to use and enjoy as liege people of *England*, whether born, or to be born, without impediment, mo-

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hands of their proper owners, the Charabes ; the man who alone had the merit of annexing the plantation of Barbadoes to the crown of England, seems to have been shamefully neglected. The Earl of Marlborough, having secured to himself and his posterity the gratification I have mentioned, deserted him ; and the Lord Carlisle, having done him premeditated injury, became his irreconcilable enemy. Courteen, however, found a friend in William Earl of Pembroke, who represented his case in such a light to the King, as to obtain a revocation of Carlisle's patent, and a grant to himself in trust for Courteen.

But the hopes of this worthy citizen were of short continuance. The Earl of Carlisle was, at that juncture, absent from the kingdom ; a circumstance which gave some colour to his charge of injustice and precipitancy in the proceeding. On his return to England, he complained that he had been condemned and deprived of his property unheard ; and the monarch on the throne, who seems, through the whole of his unfortunate reign, rather to have wanted resolution to pursue the right path, than sagacity to discern it, trod back his ground a second time ; for unable to resist the clamorous importunity of a worthless favourite, he actually annulled the grant to the

lestation, vexation, injury, or trouble of us, our heirs, and successors, any statute, act, ordinance, or proviso to the contrary notwithstanding."

Earl of Pembroke, and by second letters patent to the Earl of Carlisle, again restored to him the privileges of which he had himself, a short time before, deprived him. CHAP.  
I.  
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Thus by an act of power, which its repugnancy and absurdity alone rendered illegal, the Earl of Carlisle again found himself lord paramount of Barbadoes; and in order completely to ruin all the interests in the colony of his competitor, he proceeded to distribute the lands to such persons as chose to receive grants at his hands on the terms proposed to them. A society of London merchants* accepted ten thousand acres, on conditions which promised great advantage to the proprietor; but they were allowed the liberty of sending out a person to preside over their concerns in the colony, and they made choice for this purpose of Charles Woolferstone, who repaired to the island, accompanied with sixty-four persons, each of whom was authorized to take up one hundred acres of land.

These people landed on the fifth of July, 1628, at which time Courteen's settlement was in a very promising condition; but Woolferstone declared it an encroachment and usurpation, and being supported by the arrival of Sir William

* The names of these merchants were Marmaduke Brandon, William Perkin, Alexander Banister, Robert Wheatley, Edmond Forster, Robert Swinnerton, Henry Wheatly, John Charles, and John Farrington.

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Tufton, who was sent out as chief governor by Lord Carlisle, in 1629, with a force sufficient for the maintenance of his pretensions, he compelled the friends of Courteen to submit; and the interests of the latter were thenceforth swallowed up and forgotten.*

The facts which I have thus recited have been related so often by others, that an apology might be necessary for their insertion in this work, were it not that, by comparing one account with another, I have been enabled to correct some important errors in each. And the claim of the Earl of Carlisle having originally introduced and established the very heavy internal imposition on their gross produce, to which the planters of this, and some of the neighbouring islands, are to this day liable; I have thought it necessary to be particular and minute, in tracing the claim itself from the beginning. In what manner it produced the burthen in question, and how Barbadoes reverted from a proprietary to a royal government, I shall now proceed to relate.

The administration of Sir William Tufton, the first governor appointed by Lord Carlisle, proving disagreeable to his Lordship, Captain

* In this year, Sir William Tufton gave 140 grants of land, comprising in the whole 15,872 acres, and on the 23d of February, 1630, he passed divers laws, and among others, one for dividing the island into six parishes.

Henry Hawley was sent over in 1631 to supersede him. Tufton resenting this measure, procured the signatures of some of the planters to a petition complaining of Hawley's conduct. Hawley construed this petition into an act of mutiny on the part of Tufton, for which he had him tried and condemned by a court-martial, and with very little ceremony caused him to be shot to death; a proceeding universally exclaimed against as a most horrid and atrocious murder. Hawley, however, though recalled on this account, not only escaped punishment through the interest of his noble patron, but was soon afterwards sent back again as chief governor; in which capacity he remained till 1638, when he was driven from the country by the united voice of all the inhabitants; who however permitted his brother, William Hawley, to act as commander in chief, until a governor should be nominated at home. He was succeeded by Major Hunckes, who, leaving the island in 1641, appointed Philip Bell, Esquire, his deputy, and Bell, in 1645, was appointed chief governor.* But the conduct of Hawley,

* During the administration of this gentleman, many salutary laws were passed: among others the following:

1st. "*An Act for the continuance and observation of all acts and statutes not repealed;*" which act recites that there were divers and sundry good and wholesome laws, statutes, and ordinances provided, enacted, and made, assigned, and agreed upon, by and with the assent, consent,

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thus violent and bloody, and the support which he received from the proprietor, had alienated the minds of the new settlers from power thus delegated and abused; and the proprietor's authority lost ground every day. In the mean

and approbation of the governor, council, and freeholders out of every parish of the island, intituled, *A General Assembly for that purpose elected, made, and chosen*. And it is thereby enacted, that none of those laws shall be altered, or any thing added to them, without the consent of a like *General Assembly*. And that every parish should have two representatives at least, to be elected by the freeholders.

2d. An addition to an act intituled, "An Act for settling the estates and titles of the inhabitants of this island to their possessions in their several plantations within the same,:" it is therein recited, that in a clause in the first act it is ordained, that all the inhabitants of this island, that were in quiet possession of any lands or tenements by virtue of any warrant from any former governor, or by conveyance or other act in law, from them who had the same warrant, should have, hold, and enjoy the same, *as their free estate*: and, as some scruples had since arisen, whether an estate for life or inheritance might be construed from the same, for want of the words *their heirs*; to the intent the same might be more fully explained, and all disputes of that kind for the future abolished, it is enacted, that by the words *as their free estates*, was meant, *the whole estate and inheritance* of the respective plantations within this island, so that by such possession in manner as by the said act is expressed, the said inhabitants are thereby adjudged and declared to have and to hold their lands of right to them, to dispose of or alienate, or otherwise to descend, or be confirmed to their heirs for ever."

time, the civil war in England, caused many ^{chap.} people of peaceable tempers and dispositions, chiefly royalists, to take refuge in this island; and the consequent ruin of the king's affairs induced a still greater number, many of whom had been officers of rank in his service, to follow their example. The emigration from the mother-country to this island was indeed so great during the commotions in England, that in 1650 it was computed there were 20,000 white men in Barbadoes, half of them able to bear arms, and furnishing even a regiment of horse to the number of one thousand.

"These adventurers," says Lord Clarendon, "planted without any body's leave, and without being opposed or contradicted by any body." The case seems to have been, that the governor granted lands to all who applied, on receiving a gratuity for himself; and the claim of the proprietor, whether disputed in the island, or disregarded amidst the confusions at home, was at length tacitly and silently relinquished.*

The colony, left to its own efforts, and enjoying an unlimited freedom of trade, flourished beyond example. In the year 1646, however, the then Earl of Carlisle, who was son and heir of the patentee, stimulated by the renown of its

* Lord Carlisle had originally stipulated for an annual tribute of forty pounds of cotton wool from each person who held lands under his grant.

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wealth and prosperity, began to revive his claims as hereditary proprietor; and, entering into a treaty with Lord Willoughby of Parham, conveyed to that nobleman all his rights by lease for twenty-one years, on condition of receiving one half the profits in the mean time; but justly apprehending that the resident planters might dispute his pretensions, he very readily concurred with Lord Willoughby in soliciting a commission for the latter, as chief governor, under the sanction of regal authority.* . . .

This, though an absolute dereliction of the proprietaryship, was asked and obtained; and the Lord Willoughby, thus commissioned, embarked for his government, and, in consideration of the royal appointment, was received by the inhabitants, who were warmly attached to the King's interest, with respect and obedience. It seems probable, that at its first coming, he said nothing of his lease from Carlisle; trusting rather to future management for the re-establishment of that lord's pretensions, than to an open avowal of them on his arrival. We are told, however, by Lord Clarendon, that he obtained from the planters a promise of a contribution to the proprietor; but before it was

* When this application was made, the King was in the hands of the parliament; the commission therefore, with his Majesty's privy and approbation, was signed by the Prince of Wales, at that time in Holland.

carried into effect, the regal authority was abolished in England, and Barbadoes reduced to the obedience of the new republic, by whom another governor was appointed.

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I.



On the restoration of Charles II. and the re-establishment of the royal authority over all the British dominions,* Lord Willoughby, who had eight or nine years of this lease unexpired, applied to the king for leave to return to his government of Barbadoes. To this application no objection would have been made by the inhabitants; if his lordship had considered himself merely as representative of the crown: but his connection and contract with the Earl of Carlisle were by this time sufficiently understood by the planters, who saw with astonishment that they were regarded by those great lords as mere tenants at will of their possessions. They solicited therefore the King's support and protection. "They pleaded," says Clarendon, "that they were the King's subjects; that they had repaired to Barbadoes as to a desolate place,

* On the 18th of February, 1661, his Majesty honoured thirteen gentlemen of Barbadoes with the dignity of baronetage, in consideration of their sufferings and loyalty during the civil war: they were, Sir John Colleton, Sir James Modiford, Sir James Drax, Sir Robert Davers, Sir Robert Hacket, Sir John Yeamans, Sir Timothy Thornhill, Sir John Witham, Sir Robert Legard, Sir John Worsum, Sir John Rawdon, Sir Edwyn Stede, Sir Willoughby Chamberlayne.

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and had by their industry obtained a livelihood there, when they could not with a good conscience stay in England; that if they should now be left to those lords to ransom themselves and compound for their estates, they must leave the country, and the plantations be destroyed, which yielded his majesty so great a revenue." Respecting the charter granted to the Earl of Carlisle, they insisted positively that it was void in law; and they made two humble propositions to the King, either that his majesty would give them leave to institute in his name, but at their own cost, a process in the Exchequer for trying the validity of the earl's patent; or that he would leave those who claimed under it (for the second Earl of Carlisle dying in the interim, had bequeathed his rights in the West Indies to the Earl of Kinnoul) to their legal remedy, absolutely denying that either the late or former Lord Carlisle had sustained the smallest expence in settling the colony.

Instead of consenting to either of those most reasonable propositions, the King ordered enquiry to be made into the several allegations and claims of the parties concerned, by a committee of the privy-council; before whom some of the planters being heard, one of them, in order more readily to induce the King to take the sovereignty of the island into his own hands, offered, in the name of the inhabitants, to con-

sent, in that case, to lay an imposition of so much in the hundred on the produce of their estates, out of which his Majesty's governor might be honourably supported, and the King dispose of the overplus as he should think fit. To a monarch of Charles's disposition, this was too tempting a proposition to be resisted. We are informed that his Majesty *received the offer very graciously*; "and the next care of the committee," adds the noble historian, who was himself of that body, "was to make some computation that might be depended upon; as to the yearly revenue, that would arise upon the imposition within the island." But the planters, when called up the next day to give satisfaction in this particular, insisted that Mr. Kendall, the person who had made the offer, had no authority to undertake for them, or the inhabitants within the island; and the utmost they could be brought to promise for themselves was, that they would use their endeavours with their friends in the island to settle such a revenue on the crown as the circumstances of the colony would admit of, which they said the assembly alone was competent to determine.

The prospect of a revenue, though distant and uncertain, brought forward the creditors of the Earl of Carlisle, the patentee, who was indebted, it seems, at his death, in the sum of

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80,000*l.* and they had no hopes of being paid but from the profits of his West Indian possessions. The heirs of the Earl of Marlborough likewise put in their claim for the arrears of the annuity of 300*l.*, granted under the original compromise which I have before mentioned; and the Lord Willoughby insisted at the same time on receiving the moiety of whatever profits might arise during the remainder of the term yet unexpired in his lease. The other moiety, during that time, and the whole in reversion, was claimed by the Earl of Kinnoul.

To satisfy these several claimants, and secure a perpetual revenue to the crown, was a work of difficulty, and its accomplishment seems to have been the sole claim of the king's ministers; by whom, after a tedious but partial investigation (considering the colony as wholly at the king's mercy) it was finally ordered, that the Lord Willoughby should immediately repair to his government, and insist on the grant and establishment by the assembly of a permanent and irrevocable revenue of four and a half per cent. to be paid in specie on all dead commodities, the growth of the island, shipped to any port of the world; the money arising therefrom to be applied as follows:

First, towards an honourable and immediate provision for the Earl of Kinnoul, who, it was alleged, had sacrificed his fortune in the king's

service, and who covenanted, on such provision being secured to him, to surrender the Carlisle patent to the crown :

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Secondly, towards satisfaction and full discharge of the Earl of Marlborough's annuity :

Thirdly, it was stipulated that the surplus should be divided equally between the creditors of the Earl of Carlisle and the Lord Willoughby, during the term yet unexpired of his lordship's lease. On the expiration thereof, the remainder, after providing 1,200*l.* *per annum* for the king's government for the time being, was ordered to be paid among the said creditors till their demands were fully satisfied and discharged :

Fourthly, on the extinction of those several incumbrances, it was stipulated that the whole revenue, subject to the charge of 1,200*l.* *per annum* to the governor, should be at the disposal of the crown.

On these terms it was understood that the proprietary government was to be dissolved, and that the planters were to consider themselves as legally confirmed in possession of their estates ; and to carry into effect the important point, on which the whole arrangement depended (the grant of a perpetual revenue by the assembly) Lord Willoughby returned to his government in 1663.

It is not wonderful that the planters, on his lordship's arrival, though devoted to the interests

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of the crown should have loudly murmured at the conduct and determination of the British government in the progress and conclusion of the whole business. Clarendon himself confesses, that the grant to Carlisle was voidable by law. The king therefore laid them under no great obligation in obtaining a surrender of it. Many of the planters had been obliged to quit their native country in consequence of their exertions in support of the royal cause during the civil war; by the late settlement they perceived a regard expressed towards every interest concerned but their own: and the return which they met with, both for their former services, and also for augmenting the trade, revenue, and dominion of the parent state by their recent labours, was a demand of a contribution, which they stated would amount to ten *per cent.* on the clear profits of their estates for ever.

But their complaints, though well founded, were unavailing. The king and his governor were too deeply interested to recede. The assembly were called upon to forge chains for themselves and their children; and if persuasion should fail, force was not only at hand, but was actually employed to compel them to submission. Colonel Farmer, who led the party in opposition, was arrested and sent prisoner to England, on a charge of mutiny and treason, nor was he released till after a tedious and severe

confinement. Awed by this example, and sensible that no support could be expected from the people at home, whose privileges lay prostrate at the feet of the restored monarch, the assembly passed an act for the purposes required of them; and their posterity still bear, and it is apprehended will long continue to bear the burthen of it.*

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I.

* I have thought it may be satisfactory to the reader to have an opportunity of perusing the act at large, which I therefore subjoin, premising that the clause which exempted the lands called the 10,000 acres, and also that which stipulates for the building a session-house, and a prison, and providing for all other public charges incumbent on the government, out of the monies to be raised by the act, have been equally disregarded by the crown. The session-house and prison were not finished until the year 1730, and the expense (upwards of 5,000*l.*) was then defrayed by a special tax on the inhabitants; and there was raised by other taxes no less a sum than 19,440*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* in three years (*viz.* from 1745 to 1748) for the repair of the fortifications.

An ACT for settling the Impost on the Commodities of the Growth of this Island; passed the 12th of September, 1663.—No. 36.

WHEREAS our late Sovereign Lord Charles the First, of blessed memory, did, by his letters patent under the great seal of England, grant and convey unto James Earl of Carlisle and his heirs for ever, the propriety of this island of Barbadoes: And his sacred majesty that now is having by purchase invested himself in all the rights of the said Earl of Carlisle, and in all other rights which any other person may claim from that patent, or any other; and thereby, more immediately and particularly, hath taken this island into his royal protection. And his most excellent Majesty having, by letters patent under the great

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... The conduct of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon in this affair, who indeed appears to have

seal of England, bearing date the twelfth of June, in the fifteenth year of his reign, appointed his excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captain-general and chief governor of Barbadoes and all the Caribbee islands, with full power and authority to grant, confirm, and assure to the inhabitants of the same, and their heirs for ever, all lands, tenements, and hereditaments under his Majesty's great seal appointed for Barbadoes and the rest of the Caribbee islands, as, relation being thereunto had, may and doth more at large appear. And whereas, by virtue of the said Earl of Carlisle's patent, divers governors and agents have been sent over hither, with authority to lay out, set, grant, or convey in parcels the lands within this island, to such persons as they should think fit : which was by them, in their respective times, as much as in them lay, accordingly performed. And whereas many have not their grants, warrants, and other evidences for the said lands, and others, by reason of the ignorances of those, want sufficient and legal words to create inheritances in them, and their heirs, and others that have never recorded their grants, or warrants, and others that can make no proofs of any grants or warrants they ever had for their lands; and yet have been long and quiet possessors of the same, and bestowed great charges thereon. And whereas the acknowledgment of forty pounds of cotton per head, and other taxes and compositions formerly raised to the Earl of Carlisle, was held very heavy; for a full remedy thereof for all the defects afore-related, and quieting the possessions and settling the tenures of the inhabitants of this island; be it enacted by his excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, &c. his council, and gentlemen of the assembly, and by the authority of the same, that notwithstanding the defects afore-related all the now right-

been the person chiefly consulted in it, was afterwards thought so justly reprehensible, as to give occasion to the eighth article of his imperial possessors of lands, tenements, and hereditaments within this island, according to the laws and customs thereof, may at all times repair unto his Excellency for the full confirmation of their estates and tenures, and then and there shall and may receive such full confirmation and assurance, under his Majesty's great seal for this island, as they can reasonably advise or desire, according to the true intent and meaning of the act. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the payments of forty pounds of cotton per head, and all other duties, rents, and arrears of rent which have or might have been levied, be from henceforth absolutely and fully released and made void; and that the inhabitants of this island have and hold their several plantations to them and their heirs for ever, in free and common soccage, yielding and paying therefore, at the feast of St. Michael every year, if the same be lawfully demanded, one ear of Indian corn to his Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, in full and free discharge of all rents and services for the future whatsoever, in consideration of the release of the said forty pounds, and in consideration of the confirmation of all estates in this island as aforesaid, and in acknowledgment of his Majesty's grace and favour in sending to and appointing over us his said Excellency, of whose prudence and moderate government we have heretofore had large experience, and do rest most assured thereof for the future. And forasmuch as nothing conduceth more to the peace and prosperity of any place, and the protection of every single person therein, than that the public revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the public charges and expenses; and also well weighing the great charges that there must be of necessity in maintaining the honour and dignity of his Majesty's authority here; the public meeting of the sessions, the often at-

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peachment by the House of Commons in the year 1667. From his answer to that article, I have collected (chiefly in his own words) great tendance of the council, the reparation of the forts, *the building a sessions-house and a prison, and all other public charges incumbent on the government*; do, in consideration thereof, give and grant unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, and do most humbly desire your Excellency to accept these our grants; and we humbly pray your excellency that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by his Excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, captain-general and chief governor of this island of Barbadoes, and all the other the Caribbee Islands, and by and with the consent of the council and the gentlemen of the assembly, representatives of this island, and by authority of the same, That an impost or custom be, from and after publication hereof, raised upon the native commodities of this island, after the proportions, and in manner and form as is hereafter set down and appointed; that is to say, upon all dead commodities of the growth or produce of this island, that shall be shipped off the same, shall be paid to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors for ever, four and a half in specie for every five score.

And be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, That if any goods before-mentioned, on which the said custom is imposed, and due, by this act, shall at any time hereafter be shipped or put into any boat or other vessel, to the intent to be carried into any parts beyond the seas, the said imposition due for the same not paid, compounded for, or lawfully tendered to the collectors or their deputies, or not having agreed with the commissioners for that purpose to be appointed, or their deputies for the same, according to the true intent and meaning of the said act, that then and from thenceforth, shall the said goods be forfeit, the moiety thereof to be to our Sovereign Lord the King, and the other to him that shall inform, seize, and sue for the same in any court of record within this island; ~~which~~ grants

part of the account that I have given ; and there cannot be a stronger demonstration of the tendency of power to pervert the judgment, and cloud the faculties of the wisest and worthiest

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are left to your Excellency's own way of levying, in full confidence and assurance that your Excellency will take such course for the collecting and gathering of the said impost, without any charge, duty, or fees, as may be most for the ease of the people of this island.

Provided nevertheless, that neither this act, nor any thing therein contained, shall extend or be construed to bar his Majesty, or his said Excellency, from his or their right to any land granted, or any incroachments made upon the sea, since the year one thousand six hundred and fifty, or to any lands commonly called or known by the name of the *Ten Thousand Acres*; the merchants land, granted by the late Earl of Carlisle, or his father, unto Marmaduke Rawden, Esquire, William Perkins, Alexander Bannister, Edmund Forster, Captain Wheatley, and others their associates, on certain covenants and conditions : *Provided also, that the growth and produce of the said lands, mentioned in the preceding proviso, be not liable to any tax, impost, or custom, imposed by this act ; any thing in the same seeming to the contrary notwithstanding.*

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That one act made the seventeenth day of January, one thousand six hundred and fifty, intituled, An act importing the customs imposed and granted by the council, and gentlemen of the assembly, to the Right Honourable Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lord Lieutenant-General of the Province of Carolina, and Governor of Barbadoes ; as also, his Lordship's confirmation of the right of the inhabitants of this island to their several estates, with the tenure and rent thereon created, be, and is from henceforth repealed, made void, frustrate, of none effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.—

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of men, than the justification he has offered. He even claims great merit in not having advised the king to possess himself of the whole island of Barbadoes, without any regard to the planters or creditors concerned in the issue.

The prosecution of this great statesman, however, on this account, was of no advantage to the suffering planters; for in this, as in many other cases, the redress of a grievance, and the punishment of its author, were objects of very distinct consideration. Those who sought the ruin of Clarendon, had nothing less in view

In 1684, the assembly of this island proposed to farm the four and a half *per cent.* for eleven years, for the annual rent of 6,000*l.* sterling, to be paid into the exchequer; the governor and council concurred, and it was agreed that 7,000*l.* currency *per annum* should be raised by a tax of twenty-one pence per acre, on all lands amounting to ten or more acres. The towns and traders to be taxed 500*l.* sterling. An act passed March 19th, 1684, for this purpose, and was sent home; but the lords of the committee for trade and plantations reported, that the commissioners of the customs with whom they had advised, were of opinion that they could make no estimate of the duty, until they had experienced the produce thereof, under the then management, for one year at least; and that the commissioners appointed for managing the said duty in Barbadoes, had assured them the duty would be worth from 8,000*l.* to 10,000*l.* *per annum.* So the act was repealed.

This proposal to farm the four and a half *per cent.* duty, was made in consequence of Governor Dutton's signifying to the council and assembly, on his arrival in 1680, that his Majesty was inclined to commute the tax for a reasonable recompence.

than the removal of oppression, from subjects so remote as those of Barbadoes.

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In thus tracing the origin, progress, and termination of the proprietary government in this island, I have purposely chosen not to break the thread of my narration, by recording any intermediate events of a nature foreign to that subject. Soon after the establishment of the Commonwealth in England, circumstances however arose, respecting this colony, which have produced such effects on the general commerce of Great Britain, as cannot be overlooked in an historical and commercial survey of her West Indian plantations, and of which I shall now give some account.

The reader has been sufficiently apprized of the attachment of the Barbadians towards the regal government. One of the first acts passed by the assembly, after the arrival of the Lord Willoughby for the first time, (1647) was a declaration of their allegiance and fidelity to the unfortunate Charles the First, at that time a prisoner to the army; and on the death of that monarch, the popular resentment against his persecutors ran so high in this island, that the few planters who were suspected to be in the interest of the parliament, thought it necessary to seek protection in England.

To punish such stubborn defenders of a ruined cause, the parliament resolved, in 1651, to

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send a powerful armament for the reduction of all the English colonies in America and the West Indies; but particularly Barbadoes, at that time the most important and hostile of them all.

Many, indeed, were the motives which instigated the parliament to this determination. From the beginning of the commotions in the mother-country, the planters, having no other means of conveying the produce of their lands to Europe, had employed in this necessary navigation, many of the ships and seamen of Holland; and at this juncture the English government entertained very hostile intentions towards the subjects of that republic. The reduction of Barbadoes would at once punish the colonists, and enable the English parliament to deprive the Dutch of so profitable an intercourse with them; it would also enrich the treasury of the new government, by the confiscation of many valuable ships and cargoes in the harbours of that and the other islands. The parliament had reason likewise, it was said, to apprehend that Prince Rupert, with a squadron of the King's ships was about crossing the Atlantic, to secure all the English American possessions for Charles the Second.

Ayscue, who commanded the parliament's forces employed on this expedition, arrived at Barbadoes on the 16th of October, 1651, and

succeeded at length in bringing the island to capitulate :* but this was not effected without great difficulty ; for he met with so stout a resistance, as determined his employers at home immediately to enforce a scheme they had projected a short time before, of altering the whole system of the Barbadian commerce ; by prohibiting by an act of the Commonwealth, all foreign shipping from trading with the English plantations ; and not permitting any goods to be imported into England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than English bottoms ; or in ships of that European nation of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth and manufacture. And thus arose the famous navigation act of this kingdom ; for immediately after the Restoration, its provisions were adopted by Charles the Second, with this addition, that the master and three-fourth of the mariners, should also be English subjects.

Whatever advantages the general commerce and navigation of England may have derived

* Ayscue agreed, among other things, that the government should consist of a governor, council, and assembly, according to the ancient and usual custom of the island. The assembly to be chosen by a free and voluntary election of the freeholders of the island in the several parishes. That no taxes, customs, imposts, loans, or excise, should be laid, nor levy made on any of the inhabitants of this island, without their consent in a general assembly ; and that all laws that had been made by general assemblies, not repugnant to the laws of England, should be good.

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from this celebrated law, it must be allowed that its original framers were actuated by no better motives (as a great* writer hath observed) than those of punishing the planters, and clipping the wings of the Dutch. The inhabitants of Barbadoes, justly considering the law as a chastisement inflicted on them by the Commonwealth for their loyalty to Charles the Second were filled with amazement and indignation, on finding its provisions adopted and confirmed on the restoration of that monarch. By the regulations of this act, and the establishment of the internal duty on their produce, of which I have so largely spoken, they thought themselves treated with rigour which bordered on ingratitude, and they predicted the decline of their population, agriculture and wealth, from the effect of those measures. How far their predictions have been accomplished, a comparative state of the island at different periods will demonstrate; with which, and a few miscellaneous observations, I shall dismiss my present account.

Barbadoes is situated in $13^{\circ} 10'$ N. lat. and in longitude 59° W. from London. It is about twenty-one miles in length, and fourteen in breadth, and contains 106,470 acres of land, most of which is under cultivation. The soil in the low lands is black, somewhat reddish in the shallow parts; on the hills of a chalky marl, and near the sea generally sandy. Of

* Blackstone.

this variety of soil, the black mould is best suited for the cultivation of the cane, and with the aid of manure, has given as great returns of sugar, in favourable seasons, as any in the West Indies, the prime lands of St. Kitt's excepted.

That the soil of this island is, to a great degree, naturally fertile, we must naturally admit, if we give credit to the accounts which are transmitted down to us, of its ancient population and opulence. We are assured, that about the year 1670, Barbadoes could boast of fifty thousand white, and upwards of one hundred thousand black inhabitants, whose labours, it is said, gave employment to sixty thousand tons of shipping.* I suspect that this account

* The earliest planters of Barbadoes were sometimes reproached with the guilt of forcing or decoying into slavery the Indians of the neighbouring continent. The History of *Inle* and *Yarico*, which the Spectator has recorded for the detestation of mankind, took its rise in this island; but happily this species of slavery has been long since abolished: and perhaps such of my readers as have sympathized with the unfortunate *Yarico*, may not be sorry to hear that she bore her misfortunes with greater philosophy than they have hitherto fancied. The story was first related by *Ligon*, who (after praising poor *Yarico*'s excellent complexion, which, he says, "was a bright bay:" and her small breasts "with nipples of porphyrie") observes, that "she "chanc't afterwards to be with child by a christian servant; "and being very great, walked down to a woode, in which "was a pond of water, and there, by the side of the pond, "brought herself a-bed, and in three hours came home "with the child in her arms, a lusty boy, frolicke and "lively." The crime of *Inkle* the merchant, however, ad-

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is much exaggerated. It cannot, however, be doubted, that the inhabitants of this island have decreased with a rapidity seldom known in any other country. I have now before me authentic returns of the number of its whites in 1724, and of its negroes in 1753: the former consisted of no more than eighteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five, the latter of sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and seventy. In 1786 the numbers were sixteen thousand one hundred and sixty-seven whites, eight hundred and thirty-eight free people of colour, and sixty-two thousand one hundred and fifteen negroes.

It appears too that the annual produce of this island (particularly sugar) has decreased in a much greater proportion than in any other of the West Indian colonies. Postlethwayte states the crop of sugar, in 1736, at 22,769 hogsheads of 13 cwt. which is equal to 19,800 of 15 cwt.; and the author of the *European Settlements*, published in 1761, calculates the average crop at 25,000 hogsheads. As the author first quoted

mits of no palliation; but it is ridiculous enough to hear Abbé Raynal (willing to improve upon Addison) ascribe to it an intended revolt of all the negroes in Barbadoes, who, as he asserts, moved by indignation at Inkle's monstrous cruelty, vowed with one accord the destruction of all the Whites; but their plot was discovered the night before it was to have been carried into effect. The *Histoire Philosophique* has a thousand beauties; but it grieves me to say, that in point of historical accuracy, it is nearly on a level with the history of *Robinson Crusoe* or *Tom Thumb*.

gives a precise number, it is probable his statement was grounded on good authority. If so, the island has fallen off nearly one-half in the annual growth of its principal staple. On an average of eight years (from 1740 to 1748) the exports were 13,948 hogsheads of sugar of 15 cwt. 12,884 puncheons of rum of 100 gallons, 60 hogsheads of melasses, 4,667 bags of ginger, 600 bags of cotton, and 327 gourds of aloes. The exports, on an average of 1784, 1785, and 1786, had fallen to 9,554 hogsheads of sugar, 5,448 puncheons of rum, 6,320 bags of ginger, 8,331 bags of cotton; exclusive of some smaller articles, as aloes, sweetmeats, &c. of which the quantities are not ascertained.

That the dreadful succession of hurricanes, with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit this, and the other West Indian islands, within the last twelve years, has contributed to this great defalcation cannot be doubted. The capital of this island was scarce risen from the ashes to which it had been reduced by two dreadful fires, when it was torn from its foundations, and the whole country made a scene of desolation, by the storm of the 10th of October, 1780, in which no less than four thousand three hundred and twenty-six of the inhabitants (blacks and whites) miserably perished; and the damage to the country was computed at 1,320,564*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

It might have been presumed, however, from

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the favourable seasons which have been experienced for the last three or four years, that the prospect was at length beginning to brighten; but although, since the failure of their sugar plantations the inhabitants have found some resource in the cultivation of cotton, it does not seem probable, that any encouragement is capable of ever restoring this island to its ancient splendour and opulence; unless it be relieved from the heavy imposition of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their exported produce, of the origin of which I have so largely treated. It is to be hoped, that an enlightened minister will one day arise, who will have the courage and virtue to signify to the sovereign, that it is neither becoming the dignity, nor consistent with the character of the common father of all his subjects, to insist on a tribute from a part of them, which, though nominally granted by themselves, was assuredly obtained by fraud and oppression, and of which the continuance is a check to honest industry, and perhaps the immediate cause of the decline of this beautiful and once valuable colony.

Barbadoes is divided into five districts, and eleven parishes; and contains four towns, Bridge Town, Ostins or Charles Town, St. James's (formerly called The Hole), and Speight's Town. Bridge Town, the capital, before it was destroyed by the fires of 1766, consisted of about fifteen hundred houses, which were mostly built of brick; and it is still the

seat of government, and may be called the chief residence of the governor, who is provided with a country villa called Pilgrims, situated within a mile of it : his salary was raised by Queen Anne from twelve hundred to two thousand pounds *per annum*, the whole of which is paid out of the exchequer, and charged to the account of the four and a half *per cent.* duty. The form of the government of this island so very nearly resembles that of Jamaica, which has already been described, that it is unnecessary to enter into detail, except to observe that the council is composed of twelve members, and the assembly of twenty-two. The most important variation respects the court of chancery, which in Barbadoes is constituted of the governor *and council*, whereas in Jamaica the governor is sole chancellor. On the other hand, in Barbadoes, the governor sits in council, even when the latter are acting in a legislative capacity. This, in Jamaica, would be considered improper and unconstitutional. It may also be observed, that the courts of grand sessions, common pleas, and exchequer in Barbadoes, are distinct from each other, and not, as in Jamaica, united and blended in one supreme court of judicature.

I shall close my account of Barbadoes with the following authentic documents :

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage and cleared Outwards from the Island of BARBADOES to all Parts of January, 1788; with the Species, Quantities, and Value as made out by the Inspector General of Great Britain.

| Whither bound. | SHIPPING. | | | SUGAR. | | | RUM. | MELASSES. |
|--------------------|-----------|--------|-------|---------|-----|------|----------|-----------|
| | No. | Tons. | Men. | Cwt. | qr. | lbs. | Gallons. | Gallons. |
| To Great Britain . | 66 | 11,221 | 833 | 130,242 | 0 | 16 | 28,689 | 1,089 |
| Ireland . | 3 | 317 | 28 | 2,114 | 0 | 0 | 25,200 | - |
| American States . | 54 | 6,417 | 379 | 2,668 | 0 | 0 | 213,400 | 700 |
| Br. Am. Colonies | 41 | 3,182 | 237 | 2,742 | 0 | 0 | 146,100 | 11,700 |
| Foreign W. Indies | 78 | 5,694 | 458 | - | - | - | 2,000 | - |
| Africa . | 1 | 87 | 7 | - | - | - | 100 | - |
| Total . | 243 | 26,917 | 1,942 | 137,766 | 0 | 16 | 415,489 | 13,489 |

PRODUCE of the Island of BARBADOES exported,

| A. D. | SUGAR. | | | MELASSES. | | RUM. | | |
|-------|---------|--------|--------|-----------|--------|-------|--------|--------|
| | Hds. | Trees. | Barls. | Hds. | Trees. | Hds. | Trees. | Barls. |
| 1786 | 8,659 | 82 | 3,419 | 114 | 0 | 5,199 | 39 | 693 |
| 1787 | 11,929 | 183 | 2,415 | 87 | 37 | 3,872 | 27 | 614 |
| 1788 | 10,309 | 63 | 3,674 | 0 | 0 | 3,386 | 0 | 607 |
| 1789 | 9,021 | 96 | 4,520 | 0 | 0 | 3,172 | 0 | 397 |
| 1790 | 9,998 | 123 | 2,935 | 0 | 0 | 2,331 | 0 | 261 |
| 1791 | 11,333 | 60 | 2,346 | 30 | 0 | 3,008 | 0 | 411 |
| 1792 | 17,073* | 125 | 2,698 | 188 | 0 | 5,064 | 0 | 512 |

* From this great Increase in the Export of Sugar, and Decrease in that Article in Europe, has encouraged the Cultivation of that article on Plantations of Culture.

ACCOUNT of the Number of NEGROES in BARBADOES, and A-1792, both

| A. D. | No. of Slaves. | Do. imported. | Amount of Taxes. | | |
|-------|----------------|---------------|------------------|----|-----|
| 1786 | 62,115 | 511 | L. 10,138 | 14 | 2½ |
| 1787 | 62,712 | 528 | 13,528 | 15 | 11½ |
| 1788 | 63,557 | 1,585 | 8,382 | 12 | 4½ |
| 1789 | 63,870 | 556 | 5,534 | 18 | 3 |
| 1790 | 64,068 | 131 | 13,482 | 19 | 0 |
| 1791 | 63,250 | 426 | 6,203 | 2 | 11½ |
| 1792 | 64,330 | 744 | 9,443 | 19 | 3 |

Number of Men (including their repeated Voyages) that of the World, between the 5th of January, 1787, and the 5th of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London,

| GINGER. | COTTON. | FUSTIC. | MISCEL.
ARTICLES. | Total Value in
Sterling Money
agrecable to the
London Market. |
|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| Cwt. qrs. lbs. | lbs. | Cwt. qrs. lbs. | Value
L. s. d. | L. s. d. |
| 5,437 2 18 | 2,640,725 | 240 0 5 | 45,948 19 1 | 486,570 4 8 |
| 124 0 0 | 65,250 | 5 0 0 | 35 7 10 | 11,521 15 10 |
| - - | - - | - - | 38 5 0 | 23,217 13 4 |
| - - | - - | - - | 69 16 0 | 18,080 6 0 |
| - - | - - | - - | 38 0 0 | 207 0 0 |
| - - | - - | - - | - - | 8 15 0 |
| 5,561 2 18 | 2,705,975 | 245 0 5 | 46,124 7 11 | 539,605 14 10 |

for Seven Years, from 1786 to 1792, both inclusive.

| GINGER. | ALOES. | COTTON. |
|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Bags and Barls. | Hds. Trces. Gourds. | Bags lbs. |
| 8,070 | 1 0 409 | 8,864 |
| 6,095 | 1 1 688 | 10,511 |
| 5,364 | 0 0 303 | 0 1,894,365 |
| 5,180 | 0 0 372 | 0 1,327,840 |
| 4,565 | 0 0 475 | 0 1,287,088 |
| 3,735 | 0 0 770 | 0 1,163,157 |
| 3,046 | 0 0 515 | 0 974,178 |

of the Minor Staples, it seems probable that the advanced Prices of that which had formerly been abandoned or appropriated to a different line of

mount of the PUBLIC TAXES for Seven Years, from 1786, to inclusive.

* * * The Taxes thus levied on the Public consist of a Capitation Tax on Negroes—a Tax on Sugar-Mills, Dwelling-Houses, and Carriages; together with an Excise, &c. on Wines imported. Besides all which there is a Parochial Tax on Land amounting on an Average throughout the Island, to about Two Shillings per Acre, and an Assessment in Labour for the Repair of the Highways. The whole is altogether exclusive of the heavy Duty of 4½ per Cent. to the Crown.

CHAPTER II.

GRENADA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

First discovery, name and inhabitants.—French invasion and establishment in 1650.—War with, and extermination of the natives.—The island and its dependencies conveyed to the Count de Cerillac.—Misconduct and punishment of the deputy-governor.—The colony reverts to the crown of France.—State of the island in 1700.—And again in 1762, when captured by the English.—Stipulations in favour of the French inhabitants.—First measures of the British government.—Claim of the crown to levy a duty of 4½ per cent. on produce exported.—Arguments for and objections against the measure.—Decision of the Court of King's Bench on this important question.—Strictures on some positions advanced by the lord-chief-justice on this occasion.—Transactions within the colony.—Royal instructions in favour of the Roman Catholic capitulants.—Internal dissensions.—Defenceless state.—French invasion in 1779.—Brave defence of the garrison.—Unconditional surrender.—Hardships exercised towards the English planters and their creditors.—Redress given by the court of France.—Gre-

nada, &c. restored to Great Britain by the peace of 1783.—Present state of the colony in respect to cultivation, productions and exports; government and population.—POSTSCRIPT.—Appendix.

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GRENADA was discovered by, and received its name from, Christopher Columbus in his third voyage, in the year 1498. He found it possessed by a numerous and warlike people, amongst whom it does not appear that the Spaniards ever attempted to force a settlement. They had a nobler prize to contend for on the continent, and a century elapsed before the other nations of Europe considered the regions of the new world as countries, wherein all men might seize on what suited their convenience, without any regard to the proper inhabitants. Thus the Charaibes of Grenada happily remained in peaceful obscurity until the year 1650, when the avarice and ambition of a restless individual devoted them to destruction.

This person was Du Parquet, the French governor of Martinico, nephew and heir of Desnambuc, of whom memorable mention is made in the annals of St. Christopher. Notwithstanding that the French establishment in Martinico was itself of recent date, and that a great part of that island still remained uncultivated; and although another establishment

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was at the same time begun by the same nation, in the large and fertile island of Gaudaloupe, yet such was the rapaciousness of this people, that upwards of two hundred hardy ruffians were easily collected by Du Parquet's encouragement for an attempt on Grenada : and it is apparent from the nature and magnitude of the preparations, that it was considered as an enterprize of difficulty and danger.

The history of this expedition, which took place in June 1650, is related at large by Father Du Tertre, whose account exhibits such a monstrous mixture of fanaticism and knavery in the conduct of the leaders, as cannot be contemplated without indignation and horror. Although it is evident that the French had not the smallest justifiable pretence for this invasion, yet we find the commanders administering the holy sacrament, in the most solemn manner, to all the soldiers on their embarkation ; and again, on their landing, Du Parquet causing a cross to be erected, compelled them to kneel down before it, and join in devout prayer to Almighty God, for success to their enterprize.

This commander seems however to have had a few scruples of conscience concerning the justice of his proceedings ; for having been received and entertained with the utmost kindness and cordiality by the natives (contrary to his expectation, and perhaps to his wishes) he

thought it necessary to affect some little regard to moderation, by pretending to open a treaty with the chief of the Charaibes for the purchase of the country. He gave the natives (observes Du Tertre) *some knives and hatchets, and a large quantity of glass beads, besides two bottles of brandy for the chief himself*; and thus (continues he) was the island fairly ceded to the French nation by the natives themselves in lawful purchase! After this notable transaction, it is not wonderful that the French should consider the refusal of the poor savages to confirm the agreement, as contumacy and rebellion.

Du Parquet, having thus established a colony in Grenada, and built a fort for its protection, left the government of the island to a kinsman, named Le Compte, a man, according to Du Tertre, who possessed very singular talents for government; *and was remarkable for clemency and humanity*. We find this gentleman, however, eight months afterwards, engaged in a most bloody war with the Charaibes; in the prosecution of which he authorized such acts of cruelty as furnish a portrait of him very different from that which the historian has exhibited. On receiving news of the revolt of the natives, Du Parquet sent a reinforcement of three hundred men from Martinico, with orders to extirpate the natives altogether; but Le Compte seems not to have

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~~~~~ wanted any incitement to acts of barbarity ; for Du Tertre admits that he had already proceeded to murder without mercy, every Charaibe that fell into his hands ; not sparing even the women and children.

Of the manner in which this humane and accomplished commander, and his civilized followers, conducted hostilities against these miserable people, we may form an idea, from a circumstance that occurred in one of their expeditions, of which the reverend historian concludes his narrative as follows : “ Forty of the Charaibes were massacred on the spot. About forty others, who had escaped the sword, ran towards a precipice, from whence they cast themselves headlong into the sea, and miserably perished. A beautiful young girl of twelve or thirteen years of age, who was taken alive, became the object of dispute between two of our officers, each of them claiming her as his lawful prize ; a third coming up put, an end to the contest, by shooting the girl through the head. The place from which these barbarians threw themselves into the sea, has been called ever since *le Morne des Sauteurs*.\* Our people (having lost but one man in the expedition) proceeded in the next place to set fire to the cottages, and root up the provisions of the savages, and,

\* Leapers Hill.

having destroyed, or taken away, every thing belonging to them, *returned in high spirits,*" (*bien joyeux.*)

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By a series of such enormities, the whole race of Charaibes that possessed Grenada in 1650, was speedily exterminated; and the French having in this manner butchered all the natives, proceeded, in the next place, to massacre each other.

The particulars of this civil contest may, without injury to my readers, be omitted. I shall therefore only observe, that the supreme authority of Du Parquet and his lieutenant, was at length established in Grenada; but the expence which had attended the plantation from its outset, and the maintenance of the force which Du Parquet had been compelled to furnish in support of his authority, had so greatly injured his fortune, as to induce him to look out for a purchaser of all his rights and possessions in this island and its dependencies. In 1656 such a purchaser offered in the Count de Cerillac, to whom the whole was conveyed for 30,000 crowns.

The conduct of Cerillac towards the inhabitants of his newly acquired dominions was highly injudicious and oppressive. He appointed a governor of so arrogant and rapacious a disposition, and supported him in his extortions with such obstinacy, as to compel the most respectable of the settlers to quit the

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country and seek for safety under a milder government. At length the people that remained took the administration of justice into their own hands, by seizing on the person of the governor, and bringing him to a public trial. The criminal was condemned to be hanged: but he pleaded noble birth, and demanded the honour of decollation. His request would have been granted, but unluckily an expert executioner in the business of beheading could not readily be found; the judges therefore compounded the matter with his excellency, by consenting that he should be shot, and he suffered in that mode with great composure.

Some years after this, Monsieur de Cerillac, the proprietor, receiving, as it may be supposed, but little profit from his capital, conveyed all his rights and interest in Grenada, &c. to the French West Indian company; whose charter being abolished in 1674, the island from thenceforward became vested in the crown of France.

Under the various revolutions and calamities which had thus attended this unfortunate plantation, it may well be imagined that cultivation had made but little progress in it; but although order and submission were at length introduced by the establishment of the royal authority, various causes concurred to keep the colony in a state of poverty and depression for

many years afterwards. Even so late as 1700, if Raynal has been rightly informed, the island contained no more than 251 whites, and 525 blacks ; who were employed on three plantations of sugar, and 52 of indigo.

After the peace of Utrecht, the government of France began to turn its attention towards her West Indian possessions. Grenada however, for many years, partook less of its care than the rest. It had no constant correspondence with the mother-country : some oppressive regulations of the farmers-general ruined the cultivation of one of its staples, tobacco : and the planters had not the means of obtaining a supply of negroes from Africa, sufficient for the purpose of cultivating sugar to any extent. These inconveniences led them into a smuggling intercourse with the Dutch : a resource which at length changed their circumstances for the better ; increased their numbers, and occasioned a great part of the country to be settled, insomuch that when, in the year 1762, the fortune of war made the English masters of this and the rest of the French Charaibean islands, Grenada and the Grenadines are said to have yielded annually, in clayed and muscovado sugar, a quantity equal to about 11,000 hogsheads of muscovado of 15 cwt. each, and about 27,000 lbs of indigo.

Grenada surrendered on capitulation in Fe-

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bruary 1762, and, with its dependencies, was finally ceded to Great Britain by the definitive treaty of peace at Paris on the 10th of February 1763; St. Lucia being restored at the same time to France. The chief stipulations in favour of the inhabitants, as well by the treaty, as by the articles of capitulation, were these; 1st. That, as they would become by their surrender, subjects of Great Britain; they should enjoy their properties and privileges, and pay taxes, *in like manner as the rest of his Majesty's subjects of the other British Leeward Islands.* 2dly. With respect to religion, they were put on the same footing as the inhabitants of Canada, viz. liberty was given them to exercise it according to the rites of the Roman Church, *as far as the laws of Great Britain permitted.* 3dly. Such of the inhabitants of Grenada as chose to quit the island, should have liberty so to do, and eighteen months should be allowed them to dispose of their effects.

The island and its dependencies being thus become a British colony, one of the first measures of government was to issue a proclamation under the great seal, bearing date the 7th of October 1763, wherein, amongst other things, it is declared “that all persons inhabiting in, “or resorting to, the island of Grenada, might “confide in the royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of England,

“ with the right of appeal to the king in coun-  
 “ cil, as fully as the inhabitants of the other  
 “ British colonies in America under the king’s  
 “ immediate government.”—It also sets forth,  
 “ that the king, by letters patent under the  
 “ great seal, had given express power and di-  
 “ rection to the governor, as soon as the state  
 “ and circumstances of the colony would admit  
 “ thereof, with the advice and consent of the  
 “ council, and the representatives of the people,  
 “ to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes,  
 “ and ordinances for the good government  
 “ thereof, as near as may be agreeably to the  
 “ laws of England, and under such regulations  
 “ and restrictions as are used in the other Bri-  
 “ tish colonies.”

This proclamation was followed by another, dated the 26th of March 1764, inviting purchasers upon certain terms and conditions.

The governor thus said to have been appointed, was General Melville, whose commission however did not bear date until the 9th of April 1764, and the assembly which he was directed to summon, met for the first time in 1765; previous to which, the British inhabitants were irresistibly called to the discussion of a great constitutional question; of which it is proper I should now give some account.

The question arose from the information, that the crown, conceiving itself entitled by the

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terms of the capitulation to the duty of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. upon all produce exported from the newly ceded islands, as paid by Barbadoes, &c. had issued letters patent, bearing date the 20th July 1764, ordering and directing, by virtue of the prerogative royal, that from and after the 29th of September then next ensuing, such duty or import in specie, should be levied in Grenada; in lieu of all customs and duties formerly paid to the French king.

We have seen, in the history of Barbadoes, in what manner the inhabitants of that island became subject to the duty in question; and to what purposes the money was expressly stipulated to be applied; but unjustifiable as were the means by which that imposition was originally established in Barbadoes, the grant was, apparently, the grant of the people themselves, by their representatives in their legislative capacity. Even Charles II. in whose reign the grant passed, though a rapacious and unprincipled monarch, did not openly claim the right of laying taxes by his own authority in a colony which had an assembly of its own, competent to that purpose. The king was ready enough to overawe, or to corrupt the members which composed that assembly; but he left them the form and semblance at least of a free government.

In defence of the present measure, it was

urged that Grenada being a conquered country, the king was invested with the power of putting the inhabitants under what form of government he thought best; that he might have granted them what terms of capitulation, and have concluded what articles of peace with them he saw fit; and further, that the assurance to the inhabitants of Grenada, in the articles of capitulation, that they should enjoy their properties and privileges in like manner as the other his Majesty's subjects in the British Leeward Islands, necessarily implied that they were bound to submit to the same consequences of their being subjects as were submitted to by the inhabitants of those islands; one of which was the payment of the duty in question. It was said therefore that the demand of this duty was most reasonable, equitable, and political; for that it was only putting Grenada, as to duties, on the same footing with all the British Leeward Islands. If Grenada paid more, it would be detrimental to her, if less, it would be detrimental to the other Leeward Islands.

On the other side, it was contended, that the letters patent were void on two points: the first was "that although they had been granted before the proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, yet the king could not exercise such a legislative power over a conquered country." The second point was, "that although the king had sufficient

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power and authority, before the 7th of October 1763, to do such a legislative act, he had divested himself of such authority previous to the letters patent of the 20th of July 1764."

The crown however persisting in its claim, and the inhabitants in opposing it, issue was joined on the arguments that I have stated, and the question was at length referred to a solemn adjudication before the judges of the Court of King's Bench in England.\*

The case was elaborately argued in Westminster-hall, four several times : and in Michaelmas term 1774, Lord Chief-Justice Mansfield pronounced judgment, *against the crown*. The consequence was, that the duty in question was abolished, not only in Grenada, but also in the ceded islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

It may be reasonably supposed that the inhabitants of all these islands had sufficient cause for exultation at a verdict so favourable to their interests ; but the circumstances on which the decision was founded, and the doctrines which were promulgated along with it, became the subject of much animadversion ; and indeed (if I may obtrude my own opinion in such a case) they appear to me to be of a dangerous and unconstitutional tendency.

\* The case is related at large in Cowper's Reports.

The noble and venerable judge who pronounced the opinion of the court, rested the determination solely on the circumstance, that the proclamations of October 1763, and March 1764, were of prior date to the letters-patent; observing, that the king had precluded himself from the exercise of legislative authority over Grenada, *before* the letters patent were issued. "Through inattention, he said, of the king's servants, in inverting the order in which the instruments should have passed, the last act was contradictory to, and a violation of the first, and on that account null and void." But, although the noble lord confined the mere legal question to a narrow compass, he judged it necessary, at the same time, to enter on a wide and extensive field of discussion in support of the legal authority over conquered countries; maintaining "that it is left to the king to grant or refuse a capitulation;—if he refuses, *and puts the inhabitants to the sword, or otherwise exterminates them*, all the lands belong to himself. If he receives the inhabitants under his protection, and grants them their property, he has a power to fix *such terms and conditions as he thinks proper*. He may (said the noble judge) yield up the conquest, or retain it, *on what terms he pleases*; and change part, or the whole, of the law, or political form of its government, *as he sees best*." In reply to an observation,

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that no adjudged case, in point, had been adduced, the noble lord declared that this was not to be wondered at, "inasmuch as no question was ever stated before but that the king has a right *to a legislative authority* over a conquered country;" and he quoted an opinion of the crown lawyers in 1722, in respect of Jamaica. The assembly of that island being refractory, it was referred to Sir Philip Yorke and Sir Clement Wearge to know "what could be done if the assembly should obstinately continue to withhold all the usual supplies." They reported, that "if Jamaica was still to be considered as *a conquered island*, the king had a right to levy taxes upon the inhabitants; but if it was to be considered in the same light *as the other colonies*, no tax could be imposed on the inhabitants, but by *an assembly of the island*, or by *an act of parliament*."

It is impossible, I think, not to perceive throughout these, and other parts of the learned judge's argument, a certain degree of bias arising from the unhappy dissensions which, about that period, broke out into a civil war between Great Britain and her colonies; in the progress of which, it is believed, this noble person distinguished himself as an active partizan, and a powerful advocate for the unconditional supremacy of the mother-country. I might otherwise be chargeable with great arro-

gance in presuming to differ from such weight of authority ; but surely it will be permitted me to examine the doctrine maintained on this occasion, by the test of those cases, which the noble judge himself adduced in its support. In such an examination, plain argument and common sense may supply the subtleties of legal refinement, and the want of professional learning.

CHAP.  
II.  
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The cases chiefly relied on by the learned judge, were those of Ireland, Wales, Berwick and New York ; in all which places it was asserted that the king, after their conquest, had, of his own authority, exercised the powers of legislature, by introducing an alteration of their former laws, and establishing a new system of government over the inhabitants. “ No man (observed his lordship, in the case of Ireland) ever said, that the change in the laws of that country was made by the parliament of England : no man ever said the crown could not do it.”

With the utmost deference, however, to the sentiments of this great and enlightened lawyer, I presume to think that the question was not simply, Whether the crown alone, or the parliament of England, had the right of exercising the authority contended for ;—I will even admit that the interposition of parliament was unnecessary. Still however the main question

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remains to be answered, which is, *to what extent may the royal prerogative in such cases be exerted?* Did the noble judge mean to assert, that conquest destroys *all* the rights of the conquered, and that the king, in changing their laws and form of government, has a right to prescribe to them, *not merely the English constitution*;—but any other system he thinks best? If such was the opinion, it may be affirmed that the cases which his lordship adduced in support of his argument, warrant no such conclusion.

The first case was that of Ireland. “The fact, says the noble lord, comes out clearly to be, that Ireland *received the laws of England* by the charters and commands of Henry II. King John, and Henry III.”

Of Wales the noble lord observes, “that the statute of Wales (12 Edward I.) is certainly no more than *regulations*, made *by the king in his council* for the government of Wales, and that the king governed it as a conquest;” but let us hear on this subject the learned judge Blackstone. “This territory, observes Blackstone, being then entirely re-annexed (by a kind of feudal resumption) to the dominion of the crown of England, or, as the statute of Rutland expresses it, *terra Walliae cum incolis suis, prius regi jure feodali subjecta*, (of which homage was the sign) *jam in proprietatis dominium totaliter et cum integritate*

concoersa est, et coronæ regni Angliæ tanquam pars corporis ejusdem annexa et unita. But the finishing stroke to their independency, was given by the statute 27 Henry VIII. c. 26. which at the same time gave the utmost advancement to their civil prosperity, by admitting them to *a thorough communication of laws with the subjects of England.* Thus were this brave people gradually conquered into the enjoyment of true liberty; being insensibly put *upon the same footing, and made fellow-citizens with their conquerors.*"

Another case was that of Berwick, which, observed the noble Lord, "after the conquest of it, was governed by charters from the crown, without the interposition of Parliament, till the reign of James I." The noble judge would have stated this case more fairly had he said that Edward I. *at the request of the inhabitants,* confirmed to them the enjoyment of their ancient laws; but that its constitution was put *on an English footing,* by a charter of King James." These are the very words of Blackstone.

The case next quoted by the learned judge was that of New York, which was conquered from the Dutch in 1664, and, like Wales, remained in possession of most of its former inhabitants. "King Charles II. (observes the noble judge) changed the form of their constitution and political government; by granting it to

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the duke of York, to hold of his crown under all the regulations contained in the *letters patent*.— So far is true ; but what followed ? This Duke of York (afterwards James II.) was a man whose principles of government were in the highest degree repugnant and inimical to those of the English constitution. Accordingly he attempted at first to introduce into the newly acquired country, a system little consonant to British freedom ; but he was disappointed and defeated. He was compelled much against his inclination, to allow the people to choose deputies to represent them in the legislature ; and these deputies actually voted “ that all the ordinances which had been made by the governor and council, before the people were admitted to a share in the legislature, were invalid, *because they were passed in a manner repugnant to the constitution of England.*”

From this recital, it is I think evident that the noble and learned judge mistook the *gist* of the question ; or rather confounded together two things which are totally distinct and repugnant in their nature ; for he appears to have considered the prerogative in the king, of *extending to his newly acquired subjects, the benefits of the English constitution*, as equivalent to the right of ruling them by whatever constitution or system of government he pleases ; or, *by none at all.*

It would seem then that, if the cases which have been adduced prove any thing, they prove that the crown neither has prescribed, nor could prescribe, any form of government incompatible with the principles of the British constitution, to any colony or territory whatever, whether acquired by conquest or settlement;—and good authorities are not wanting in support of this doctrine. “The king of Great Britain,” says an excellent writer,* “although at the head of a free state, may, in his own right, hold other states, under a form of government *that is not free*; as he does, for instance, the states of the electorate of Hanover. He may too even as king of Great Britain, by virtue of his prerogative and as generalissimo of the empire, hold a conquered state (for the time being) under a form of government that is not free; that is, under military law: but, in the instant that such conquered state is, by treaty of peace, or otherwise, ceded to the crown of Great Britain, in that instant it imbibes the spirit of the constitution, it is naturalized; it is assimilated to the government; it is governable and to be governed by and under all those powers with which the governing power of king, lords, and commons is invested by the constitution; but it is not governable, neither is it to be governed,

* Mr. Estwick.

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by any powers which the governing power of king, lords, and commons does not possess from the constitution: as for example, it cannot be governed on the principles of slavery; because the governing power of king, lords, and commons is appointed by the constitution to govern on the principles of liberty." Surely it is a proposition absurd and monstrous on the very face of it, to say that a limited monarch in a free state, may govern any part of the dominions of such a state in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner. A body of subjects so governed, would, if sufficiently numerous, be fit instruments to enslave the rest!

The intelligent reader will admit the vast importance of this question, both to the present age and to posterity; and perceive how greatly the dearest interests of men, who, in the contingencies of war, shall hereafter fall under the British dominion, may possibly be concerned in its discussion. To such readers no apology will be necessary, for the detail which I have thought it my duty to give on a subject of such constitutional magnitude,—I now return to transactions with the colony.

It has been stated that the first assembly met in 1765. At that time none of the French Roman catholic inhabitants claimed a right, or even expressed a desire, of becoming members, either of the council or assembly: but in 1768

the governor received instructions from the crown, to admit two of them into the council, and to declare others to be eligible into the assembly, on taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The governor was directed also to include the names of certain persons of this description, in the commission of the peace.

These instructions, and the measures which were taken in consequence thereof, gave rise to violent commotions and party divisions in the colony, which being embittered by religious controversy, continue to divide the inhabitants to the present hour. It were highly unbecoming in me (a stranger to the island) to flatter the passions of one party or the other; and I should readily consign all the circumstances to oblivion, but that it is my duty as an historian, to state without prejudice such particulars as may, in their consequences, affect the general welfare of the colony, that the errors of one age may serve as a lesson to the next.

The opposition that was given by the British inhabitants to the appointment of any of the Roman catholic capitulants to seats in the legislature, arose, I believe, originally from an idea that the royal instructions in this case were in direct violation of the test act of Charles II. which requires "that all persons enjoying any place of trust or profit shall, in addition to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, subscribe a

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declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper." By the king's instructions, above cited, his Roman catholic subjects of Grenada were declared eligible without subscribing to this declaration.

Liberal and enlightened minds at this day are not easily reconciled to the doctrine, that an adherence to mere speculative opinions in matters of faith, ought to drive any loyal subject from the service of his country, or deprive a man (otherwise entitled) of the enjoyment of those honours and distinctions, the distribution of which the wisdom of the laws has assigned to the sovereign. Much less will it be thought that such a man is unworthy of that confidence which his neighbours and fellow citizens, who are best acquainted with his principles and virtues, and are themselves of a different persuasion, shall think fit to repose in him. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that the recent and then depending claim in the crown, to lay taxes on Grenada by its own authority, gave the inhabitants just cause of apprehension, that the royal instructions in the present case were founded, in like manner, on a pretension to legislative authority, subversive of their own colonial assembly.

On the other hand, it was alleged that the test act was never meant to extend to the Bri-

tish plantations; that it was confined, both in its letter and spirit, to the kingdom of England and the town of Berwick; and though it were true that it is the practice of the courts of Grenada to adopt both the common and statute law of England, it was contended nevertheless, that the adoption could extend only to such of the English statutes as were applicable to the peculiar situation of the colony. It was urged, that the act in question originated in an age of religious frenzy and fanatic violence. The authority of history was adduced to prove that it was particularly promoted by a worthless individual, from animosity to the Duke of York, who was obliged in consequence of it, to resign the great office of Lord High Admiral. A law thus founded and supported, instead of being considered as suited to the circumstances of a new and infant colony, ought, it was said, to be expunged from the English statute book.

What influence these, or other considerations, had on the British ministry, I presume not to say. It is certain that the king refused to revoke his instructions; in consequence whereof the most zealous of the protestant members of the assembly declining to attend, it was seldom that a house could be formed. Public affairs soon fell into the utmost confusion, and in this state of faction and perplexity, the

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island continued, until its re-capture by the French in 1779.

On this occasion, charges were brought against the French inhabitants which I will not repeat, because I have no other evidence to support them than the mutual reproaches and reciprocal accusations of the parties. The complaints indeed which were loudly made on the part of the French, of an usurpation of their dearest rights by the prevailing faction, seemed to imply that they relied rather on justification than denial.

The French ministry however required no other encouragement for attacking this island, than the defenceless state in which all the British settlements in the West Indies were at that juncture notoriously left. The hopeless and destructive war in North America had drawn to its vortex all the powers, resources, and exertions of Great Britain. Already had Dominica and St. Vincent become a sacrifice to that unfortunate contest; when it fell to the lot of Grenada to experience her share of the general misfortune.

On the 2d of July 1779, a French armament consisting of a fleet of 25 ships of the line, 10 frigates, and 5,000 troops, under the command of the Count D'Estaing, appeared off the harbour and town of St. George: the whole force

of the island was composed of 90 men of the 48th regiment, 300 militia of the island, and 150 seamen from the merchant ships; and its fortifications consisted chiefly of an entrenchment, which had been hastily thrown up round the summit of the Hospital-hill. This entrenchment the Count D'Estaing invested the next day, at the head of 3,000 of his best forces, which he led up in three columns, and after a hard conflict and the loss of 300 men, carried the lines. Never did so small a body of men make a nobler defence against such inequality of numbers. The governor (Lord Macartney) and the remains of his little garrison, immediately retired into the old fort, at the mouth of the harbour; which however was wholly untenable, being commanded by the Hospital-hill battery, the guns of which having been most unfortunately left unspiked, were now turned against them. At day-break, the French opened a battery of two twenty-four pounders against the walls of the old fort. In this situation the governor and inhabitants had no resource but in the hopes of obtaining favourable terms of capitulation; and herein they were disappointed. Their proposals were scornfully rejected, and such hard and extraordinary terms offered and insisted on by Count D'Estaing, as left them no alternative but the sacrifice of their honour, or an unconditional surrender. They

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embraced the latter; and it must be acknowledged, that the protection which was afforded to the helpless inhabitants of the town, and their property, not only while the treaty was depending, but also after the surrender of the island at discretion, reflected the highest lustre on the discipline, as well as humanity of the conquerors. Protection and safeguards were granted on every application, and thus a town was saved from plunder, which by the strict rules of war might have been given up to an exasperated soldiery.

It is to be lamented that the subsequent conduct of the French government of Grenada, towards its new subjects, was not quite so generous. By an ordinance of the Count de Durat, the new governor, they were enjoined, under the penalty of military execution and confiscation of property, from the payment, directly, or indirectly, of all debts due by them to British subjects, residing in any part of the British dominions; and by another ordinance, the prohibition was extended to such debts owing to the subjects of the united provinces of Holland, as were guaranteed by any of the subjects of Great Britain. The Count D'Estaing had inserted clauses to the same effect, in the form of capitulation, which he had tendered to the garrison, and it was those prohibitions that induced the British inhabitants with an honest

indignation, to risque the consequence of an unconditional surrender, rather than submit to them. With the virtue and integrity that it is to be hoped will for ever distinguish the British character, they considered no sacrifice so great as the violation of that confidence, which had been reposed in them by their friends and creditors in Europe. But the ordinances went still further. By the regulations which they contained, it was enacted that all the estates belonging to English absentees, should be put into the hands of certain persons to be nominated by the governor, called *conservators*; and the produce be paid into the public treasury. Thus was plunder sanctioned by authority; and the absent proprietors were not the only victims. The shameful facility with which every French claimant was put into possession of estates to which the slightest pretension was set up, gave the resident planters reason to apprehend, that the only indulgence they were to expect, was that which Polyphemus promised Ulysses, *of being devoured the last*.

Most of these injurious proceedings, and various acts of personal oppression, inflicted on the conquered inhabitants of Grenada, were, by them, imputed to the too great influence with the governor of their late fellow subjects and neighbours, the French planters; and it is much easier to account for, than to justify their

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conduct. Let it be remembered, however, to the honour of the French nation, that these nefarious proceedings were no sooner made known to the court of France, than they were disapproved and reprobated. The appointment of conservators was abolished, and restoration ordered to be made of the estates of absent proprietors. Redress was likewise very generally given, by appeals in the last resort, to such of the resident planters as had been illegally deprived of their possessions. But it was not long before the island itself reverted to the British dominion.

Grenada and the Grenadines were restored to Great Britain, with all the other captured islands in the West Indies (Tobago excepted) by the general pacification which took place in January, 1783; a pacification upon which, whatever may be its general merits, it is impossible but that the English sugar-planters (except perhaps those of the ceded island) must reflect with grateful satisfaction. It might indeed have been wished, by those who have at heart the present repose and future prosperity of mankind, that some salutary regulations had been framed, at the same time, for preventing the revival of those unhappy national animosities among the white inhabitants of Grenada, of which I have so largely spoken, and which I am sorry to be informed, were renewed on the res-

toration of the island with additional force and aggravated violence. It is not my intention, however to enter into any further detail on the subject. As a friend to the interests of humanity, independent of religious opinions, and locality of birth, I shall rejoice if means can be found to restore to this little community that peace, confidence and unanimity, without which its inhabitants must be a ruined people, and a prey to the first invader.

Having thus, as I conceive, sufficiently treated of the historical and political concerns of this valuable colony, I shall conclude with a short display of its present state (1791), in respect of soil, population, productions and exports; premising, that many of those little islands which are called the Grenadines, no longer appertain to the government of Grenada. By an arrangement of the British administration, which has taken effect since the peace, a line of division passes in an east and west direction, between Carriacou and Union Island. The former of these, and some smaller islands south of it, are all that are now comprised in the Grenada government; Union island, with all the little islands adjoining, to the north, being annexed to the government of St. Vincent.

Grenada is computed to be about twenty-four miles in length, and twelve miles in its greatest breadth, and contains about 80,000

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acres of land ; of which although no less than 72,141 acres paid taxes in 1776, and may therefore be supposed fit for cultivation, yet the quantity actually cultivated has never exceeded 60,000 acres. The face of the country is mountainous, but not inaccessible in any part, and it abounds with springs and rivulets. To the north and the east, the soil is a brick mould ; the same or nearly the same, as that of which mention has been made in the history of Jamaica. On the west side, it is a rich black mould on a substratum of yellow clay. To the south, the land in general is poor, and of a reddish hue, and the same extends over a considerable part of the interior country. On the whole, however, Grenada appears to be fertile in a high degree, and by the variety, as well as excellence, of its returns, seems adapted to every tropical production. The exports of the year 1776, from Grenada, and its dependencies, were 14,012,157 lbs. of muscovado, and 9,273,607 lbs. of clayed sugar ; 818,700 gallons of rum ; 1,827,166 lbs. of coffee ; 457,719 lbs. of cacao ; 91,943 lbs. of cotton ; 27,638 lbs. of indigo, and some smaller articles ; the whole of which, on a moderate computation, could not be worth less, at the ports of shipping, than 600,000*l.* sterling, excluding freight, duties, insurance and other charges. It deserves to be remembered too, that the sugar was the produce of 106 planta-

tions only, and that they were worked by 18,293 negroes, which was therefore rather more than one hogshead of muscovado sugar, of 16 cwt: from the labour of each negro, old and young, employed in the cultivation of that commodity; a prodigious return, equalled, I believe, by no other British island in the West Indies, St. Christopher's excepted.—The exports of 1787 will be given hereafter: they will be found, except in one or two articles, to fall greatly short of those of 1776; a circumstance for which I know not wholly how to account.*

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This island is divided into six parishes, St.

\* This circumstance is the more surprising as the sugar plantations in Grenada, for some years previous to the hurricane in 1780, suffered greatly by the ravages of the *sugar or carnivorous ant.* Of this wonderful insect a curious account was transmitted to the Royal Society of London, an abridgement of which the reader will find in an appendix to this chapter. I conceive however, (notwithstanding what is asserted to the contrary in that account) that this species of ant is common to all the islands in the West Indies, and has been known in them, in a greater or less degree, from the earliest times. It is the *formica omnisora* of Linnæus, and is well described by Sloane as the *formica fusca minima, antennæ longissimæ* (vide note in p. 168 of this vol.) Its trivial name in Jamaica, is the *Raffles ant.* from one *Thomas Raffles*, who is charged with having imported them from the Havanna about the year 1762. They do no injury to the sugar-canes in Jamaica; probably because their numbers are few. From what causes they increased so prodigiously in Grenada, no satisfactory account has I believe been given.

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George, St. David, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, St. Mark and St. John; and its chief dependency, *Cariacou*, forms a seventh parish. It is only since the restoration of Grenada to Great Britain by the peace of 1783, that an island law has been obtained for the establishment of a protestant clergy. This act passed in 1784, and provides stipends of 350*l.* currency, and 60*l.* for house-rent *per annum*, for five clergymen, *viz.* one for the town and parish of St. George, three for the other five out-parishes of Grenada, and one for *Cariacou*. Besides these stipends, there are valuable glebe lands, which had been appropriated to the support of the Roman catholic clergy, whilst that was the established religion of Grenada. These lands, according to an opinion of the attorney and solicitor-general of England (to whom a question on this point was referred by the crown) became vested in his majesty as public lands, on the restoration of the island to the British government, and I believe have since been applied by the colonial legislature, with the consent of the crown, to the further support of the protestant church, with some allowance thereout (to what amount I am not informed) for the benefit of the tolerated Romish clergy of the remaining French inhabitants.

The capital of Grenada, by an ordinance of governor Melville, soon after the cession of the country to Great Britain by the peace of Paris, is

called St. George. By this ordinance, English names were given to the several towns and parishes, and their French names forbidden to be thereafter used in any public acts. The French name of the capital was Fort Royal. It is situated in a spacious bay, on the west or lee-side of the island, not far from the south end, and possesses one of the safest and most commodious harbours for shipping in the English West Indies, which has been lately fortified at a very great expense.\*

The other towns in Grenada, are, properly speaking, inconsiderable villages or hamlets, which are generally situated at the bays or shipping places in the several out-parishes. The parish town of Carriacou is called Hillsborough.

Grenada has two ports of entry, with separate establishments, and distinct revenue officers, independent of each other, viz. one at St.

\* The town of St. George is built chiefly of brick, and makes a handsome appearance. It is divided by a ridge, which running into the sea forms on one side the carenage, on the other the bay: thus there is the *Bay-Town*, which boasts a handsome square and market-place, and the *Carenage-Town*, wherein the principal merchants reside, the ships lying land-locked, and in deep water close to the wharfs. On the ridge between the two towns stands the church, and on the promontory above it is a large old fort, which was probably constructed by the first French inhabitants. It is built of stone, and is large enough to accommodate an entire regiment.

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George, the capital, and one at Grenville-bay, a town and harbour on the east or windward side of the island. The former, by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27. is made a free port.

Whether it be owing to the events of war, to domestic dissensions, or to calamities inflicted by the hand of Divine Providence, I know not, but it appears that the white population of Grenada and the Grenadines has decreased considerably since these islands first came into possession of the English. The number of white inhabitants, in the year 1771, was known to be somewhat more than sixteen hundred; in 1777 they had decreased to thirteen hundred; and at this time they are supposed not to exceed one thousand two hundred, of which about two-thirds are men able to bear arms, and incorporated into five regiments of militia, including a company of free blacks or mulattoes attached to each. There are likewise about 500 regular troops from Great Britain, which are supported on the British establishment.\*

The negro slaves have also decreased. By the last returns preceding the capture of the island

\* Besides the regular troops which are sent from Great Britain for the protection of Grenada, there are in its garrison three companies of the king's negroes, which came from America, where they served in three capacities, as pioneers, artificers, and light dragoons. In Grenada they form a company of each, and are commanded by a lieutenant of the regulars, having captain's rank.

in 1779, they were stated at 35,000, of which 5,000 were in Carriacou, and the smaller islands. In 1785 they amounted to no more than 23,926 in the whole. The decrease was owing partly to the want of any regular supply during the French government, and partly to the numbers carried from the island by the French inhabitants, both before and after the peace. It is also to be observed, that of the African cargoes sold at Grenada, some part (perhaps a fourth, or fifth) are exported to the neighbouring French and Spanish colonies.

The free people of colour amounted in 1787, to 1,115. To prevent the too great increase of this mixed race, every manumission is, by an act of this island, charged with a fine of one hundred pounds currency, payable into the public treasury. But this law has neither operated as a productive fund, nor as a prohibition; for it is usually evaded by executing and recording acts of manumission in some other island or government where there is no such law. The evidence of all coloured people of free condition, is received in the courts of this island, on their producing sufficient proof of their freedom; and such free people are tried on criminal charges in the same manner as the whites. They are also allowed to possess and enjoy lands and tenements to any amount, provided they are native-born subjects or capitulants, and not aliens.

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The governor, by virtue of his office, is chancellor, ordinary and vice-admiral, and presides solely in the courts of chancery and ordinary, as in Jamaica. His salary is 3,200*l.* currency *per annum*,\* which is raised by a poll-tax on all slaves; and it is the practice in Grenada to pass a salary bill on the arrival of every new governor, to continue during his government. In all cases of absence beyond twelve months, the salary ceases and determines.

The council of Grenada consists of twelve members, and the assembly of twenty-six. The powers, privileges and functions of both these branches of the legislature, are the same, and exercised precisely in the same manner, as those of the council and assembly in Jamaica. A freehold, or life estate, of fifty acres, is a qualification for a representative for a parish, and a freehold, or life estate, in fifty pounds house-rent in St. George, qualifies a representative for the town. An estate of ten acres in fee, or for life, or a rent of ten pounds in any of the out-towns, gives a vote for the representatives of each parish respectively; and a rent of twenty pounds *per annum*, issuing out of any freehold or life estate in the town of St. George, gives a vote for a representative for the town.

\* The currency of Grenada, or rate of exchange, is commonly 65 *per cent.* worse than sterling.

The law courts in Grenada, besides those of chancery and ordinary, are, first, the court of grand sessions of the peace held twice a year, viz. in March and September. In this court the first person named in the commission of the peace presides, who is usually the president or senior in council.

2dly, The court of common pleas. This court consists of one chief and four assistant justices, whose commissions are during pleasure. The chief justice is usually appointed in England, a professional man, and receives a salary of 600*l. per annum*. The four assistant justices are usually appointed by the governor from among the gentlemen of the island, and act without salary.

3dly, The court of exchequer. The barons in this court are commissioned in like manner as in the court of common pleas. But this court is lately grown into disuse.

4thly, The court admiralty, for trial of all prize causes of capture from enemies in war, and of revenue seizures in peace or war. There is one judge of admiralty and one surrogate.

Lastly, The governor and council compose a court of error, as in Jamaica, for trying all appeals of error from the court of common pleas.

Although there is no law of Grenada declaring an adoption of the laws of England, yet it

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has been always the practice of the courts, to consider both common and statute law of England to extend to Grenada in all applicable cases, not otherwise provided for by particular laws of the island. So in like manner the practice of the courts in Westminster-Hall, and authentic reports of adjudged cases there, are resorted to when precedents and authorities are wanting in the island. In the case of its *slave laws*, it may be said with truth and justice, that the assembly of this island have shown a liberality of sentiment which reflects the highest honour on their characters, both as legislators and christians.

I have now furnished the reader with all the information I have collected, concerning the past history and present state of the island of Grenada,* and if it shall be thought deficient or un instructive, the fault is not in the want of materials but in the workman. Something however remains to be observed concerning such of the Grenadines as are dependent on the Grenada government, the chief of which are Cariacou and Isle Ronde. The former contains 6,913 acres of land, and in general it is fertile and well cultivated; producing in seasonable years a million of pounds of cotton for exportation,

* This was written in 1791: since that time Grenada has sustained a melancholy reverse of fortune, some particulars of which will be related in a subsequent volume.

besides corn, yams, potatoes, and plantains, sufficient for the maintenance of its negroes. The cultivation of sugar has been found less successful in this island than cotton, though it still continues to be made on two plantations. Isle Ronde contains about 500 acres of excellent land, which are wholly applied to pasturage, and the cultivation of cotton. It is situated about midway between Cariacou and the north end of Grenada, about four leagues from each.

I shall close my account of this colony, as of Barbadoes, with authentic returns by the Inspector-General of Great Britain, of the exports from Grenada and its dependencies, for the year 1787; containing also an estimate of the value of the several articles at the British market.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared outwards from the Island of Grenada, &c. to all Parts of the World, between the 5th January 1787 and the 5th January 1788, with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. By the Inspector General of Great Britain.

Whither bound.	SHIPPING.			SUGAR.			RUM.	ME-LASSES.	COFFEE.		
	No.	Tons.	Men.	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.
To Great Britain	55	13,276	969	172,880	0	9	102,590	—	8,550	2	4
Ireland . . .	7	771	59	1,248	0	0	86,100	—	—	—	—
American States	47	6,373	410	290	0	0	272,060	—	44	0	0
British American Colonies	30	2,610	194	1,130	0	0	209,620	4,300	218	0	0
Foreign West Indies . .	39	2,734	192	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	188	25,764	1,824	175,548	0	9	670,390	4,300	8,812	2	4

* Continued.

Whither bound.	CACAO.			COTTON.	IN-DIGO.	Value of Miscellaneous Articles, as Hydes, Dyeing Woods, &c.			Total Value, according to the current Prices in London.		
	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
To Great Britain	2,645	1	2	2,030,177	1,560	64,439	0	3	555,222	11	6
Ireland . . .	19	2	16	32,250	1,250	24	10	0	13,580	4	5
American States	36	0	0	—	—	27	4	0	24,597	4	0
British American Colonies	16	0	0	—	—	15	6	0	21,469	9	4
Foreign West Indies . .	—	—	—	—	—	39	0	0	39	0	0
	2,716	3	18	2,062,427	2,810	64,545	0	3	614,908	9	3

* Continued.

POSTSCRIPT to the HISTORY of GRENADA.

The first edition of this work having fallen into the hands of a gentleman of distinguished abilities and learning (one of his Majesty's Serjeant's at Law), he was pleased, at the author's request, to communicate his thoughts in writing on the doctrine maintained by Lord Mansfield, concerning the legal authority of the Crown over conquered countries, as stated in page 365 of this volume, which I have great pleasure in presenting to the reader in the precise words in which they were given :

THE ground upon which the court rested their judgment in the case of Grenada, was clearly sufficient to warrant that judgment, even admitting the doctrine laid down by Lord Mansfield on the other point to be well founded ; but nothing can be more unfounded than that doctrine : — every proposition upon which it is made to rest is a fallacy. I deny that the king (at least since the constitution has had its present form) can “ *arbitrarily* grant or refuse a capitulation.” The power of granting or refusing a capitulation

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Postscript. in the case of a siege or invasion, is certainly
BOOK vested in him ; but it is vested in him like every
III. other power with which he is entrusted by the
British constitution, to be exercised according to
the usage which has prevailed in like cases. If
that power should be abused, his officers and
ministers must answer to the public for their
misconduct.

For the same reason I deny that "the king
can put the inhabitants of a conquered country
to the sword or otherwise exterminate them,"
unless such severity be fully justified by the laws
of war, as they are understood amongst civilized
nations.

But, supposing that a case should happen
wherein such severity would be justifiable, I
deny that, upon the extermination of the enemy,
the lands would belong to the king himself: I
say they would belong to the state; and that
they would be subject, not merely to the king,
but to the sovereign power which governs the
British dominions. If the king receives the in-
habitants under his protection, and grants them
their property, I deny that he has power to fix
such terms and conditions as he thinks proper;
for he cannot reserve to himself, in his indivi-
dual capacity, legislative power over them: that
would be to exclude the authority of the British
legislature from the government of a country
subdued by British forces, and would be an at-

tempt to erect *imperium in imperio*. One consequence of this would be, that such conquered territory might descend to an heir of the king not qualified according to the act of settlement, to succeed to the crown of Great Britain. The king might give it to a younger son, or bestow it on a stranger. A thousand other absurd consequences might be pointed out, as resulting from such incongruity.

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I admit that the king (subject to the responsibility of his ministers) may yield up a conquest, or retain it as he sees best; but I deny, for the reasons above hinted at, that he can impose what terms he pleases, or that he can arbitrarily change the law or political form of its government. I think he may agree, upon the capitulation, that the conquered people shall continue to enjoy their ancient religion and laws, and even this must be *sub modo*; but I deny that he could, by his own authority, grant these things after the capitulation; for that would amount to an exercise of independent sovereignty. The fallacy of Lord Mansfield's argument, proceeds from an endeavour to confound the king's civil and military characters, and to perpetuate in the chief executive magistrate, the vast powers with which it is necessary to invest the generalissimo of the armies, during the continuance of military operations. The moment these operations cease, he resumes his civil character, and in that cha-

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racter no man will venture to assert that as king of Great Britain, he has the prerogative of being a despot in any part of his dominions.

With respect to the cases of Ireland, Wales, and Berwick, even taking them precisely as Lord Mansfield puts them, I think they do not weigh a feather in the argument. Those cases happened long before the English constitution had reduced itself to its present form, consequently, before the rights of the people were ascertained and defined as they exist at present. If a few instances of the exercise of arbitrary power by the ancient kings of England, are to be received as decisive cases, to shew what are the powers of the crown at this day, I think it would be no very difficult task to find authorities even as low down as the reigns of the Plantagenets and Stuarts, to prove that the British government ought to be a pure despotism !

APPENDIX

TO

CHAPTER II. OF BOOK II.

CONTAINING

Observations on the Sugar Ants in the Island of Grenada; extracted from a Letter of John Castles, Esq. to General Melville: read before the Royal Society in May 1790.

THE Sugar Ants, so called from their ruinous effects on sugar-cane, are supposed to have first made their appearance in Grenada about the year 1770, on a sugar plantation at Petit Havre; a bay five or six miles from the town of St. George, the capital, conveniently situated for smuggling from Martinico; it was therefore concluded, they were brought from thence in some vessel employed in that trade, which is very probable, as colonies of them in like manner were afterwards propagated in different parts of the island by droghers, or vessels employed in carrying stores, &c. from one part of the island to another.

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From thence they continued to extend themselves on all sides for several years; destroying in succession every sugar plantation between St. George's and St. John's, a space of about twelve miles. At the same time, colonies of them began to be observed in different parts of the island, particularly at Duquesne on the north, and Calavini on the south side of it.

All attempts of the planters to put a stop to the ravages of these insects having been found ineffectual,

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it well became the legislature to offer great public rewards to any person who should discover a practicable method of destroying them, so as to permit the cultivation of the sugar-cane as formerly. Accordingly, an act of assembly was passed, by which such discovery was entitled to twenty thousand pounds, to be paid from the public treasury of the island.

Many were the candidates on this occasion, but very far were any of them from having any just claim: nevertheless, considerable sums of money were granted, in consideration of trouble and expences in making experiments, &c.

In Grenada there had always been several species of ants, differing in size, colour, &c. which however were perfectly innocent with respect to the sugar-cane. The ants in question, on the contrary, were not only highly injurious to it, but to several sorts of trees, such as the lime, lemon, orange, &c.

These ants are of the middle size, of a slender make, of a dark red colour, and remarkable for the quickness of their motions; but their greatest peculiarities are, their taste when applied to the tongue, the immensity of their number, and their choice of places for their nests.

All the other species of ants in Grenada have a bitter musky taste. These, on the contrary, are acid in the highest degree, and when a number of them were rubbed together between the palms of the hands, they emitted a strong vitriolic sulphureous smell; so much so, that, when the experiment was made, a gentleman conceived that it might be owing to this quality that these insects were so unfriendly to vegetation. This criterion to distinguish them was infallible, and known to every one.

Their numbers were incredible. I have seen the roads coloured by them for miles together; and so crowded were they in many places, that the print of the horse's feet would appear for a moment or two, until filled up by the surrounding multitude. This is no exaggeration. All the other species of ants, although numerous, were circumscribed and confined to a small spot, in proportion to the space occupied by the cane ants, as a mole-hill to a mountain.

The common black ants of that country had their nests about the foundation of houses or old walls; others in hollow trees; and a large species in the pastures, descending by a small aperture under ground. The sugar ants, I believe, universally constructed their nests among the roots of particular plants and trees, such as the sugar-cane, lime, lemon, and orange trees, &c.

The destruction of these ants was attempted chiefly two ways; by poison, and the application of fire.

For the first purpose, arsenic and corrosive sublimate mixed with animal substances, such as salt fish, herrings, crabs, and other shell fish, &c. were used, which was greedily devoured by them. Myriads of them were thus destroyed; and the more so, as it was observed by a magnifying glass, and indeed (though not so distinctly) by the naked eye, that corrosive sublimate had the effect of rendering them so outrageous that they destroyed each other; and that effect was produced even by coming into contact with it. But it is clear, and it was found, that these poisons could not be laid in sufficient quantities over so large a tract of land as to give the hundred thousandth part of them a taste.

The use of fire afforded a greater probability of suc-



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cess; for (from whatever cause) it was observed, that if wood, burnt to the state of charcoal, without flame, and immediately taken from the fire, was laid in their way, they crowded to it in such amazing numbers as soon to extinguish it, although with the destruction of thousands of them in effecting it. This part of their history appears scarcely credible; but, on making the experiment myself, I found it literally true. I laid fire, as above described, where there appeared but very few ants, and in the course of a few minutes thousands were seen crowding to it and upon it; till it was perfectly covered by their dead bodies. Holes were therefore dug at proper distances in a cane piece, and fire made in each hole. Prodigious quantities perished in this way; for those fires, when extinguished, appeared in the shape of mole hills, from the numbers of their dead bodies heaped on them. Nevertheless the ants soon appeared again, as numerous as ever. This may be accounted for, not only from their amazing fecundity, but that probably none of the breeding ants or young brood suffered from the experiment.

For the same reason, the momentary general application of fire by burning the cane trash (or straw of the cane) as it lay on the ground, proved as little effectual; for although, perhaps, multitudes of ants might have been destroyed, yet in general they would escape by retiring to their nests under cover, out of its reach, and the breeding ants, with their young progeny, must have remained unhurt.

This calamity, which resisted so long the efforts of the planters, was at length removed by another; which, however ruinous to the other islands in the West Indies, and in other respects, was to Grenada a very

great blessing; namely, the hurricane in 1779; without which it is probable, the cultivation of the sugar-cane in the most valuable parts of that island must have in a great measure been thrown aside, at least for some years. How this hurricane produced this effect, has been considered rather as a matter of wonder and surprise than attempted to be explained. By attending to the following observations, the difficulty, I believe, will be removed.

These ants make their nests, or cells for the reception of their eggs, only under or among the roots of such trees or plants as are not only capable of protecting them from heavy rains, but are at the same time so firm in the ground as to afford a secure basis to support them against any injury occasioned by the agitation of the usual winds. This double qualification the sugar-cane possesses in a very great degree; for a stool of canes (which is the assemblage of its numerous roots where the stems begin to shoot out) is almost impenetrable to rain, and is also, from the amazing number and extension of the roots, firmly fixed to the ground. Thus, when every other part of the field is drenched with rain, the ground under those stools will be found quite dry, as I and every other planter must have observed when digging out the stools in a cane piece, to prepare for replanting. And when canes are lodged or laid down by the usual winds, or fall down by their usual luxuriance, the stools commonly remain in the ground; hence, in ordinary weather, the nests of these ants are in a state of perfect security.

The lime, lemon, orange, and some other trees, afford these insects the same advantages from the great number and quality of their roots, which are firmly

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fixed to the earth, and are very large; besides which, their tops are so very thick and umbrageous as to prevent even a very heavy rain from reaching the ground underneath.

On the contrary, these ant's nests are never found at the roots of trees or plants incapable of affording the above protection; such for instance as the coffee tree: it is indeed sufficiently firm in the ground; but it has only one large tap root, which goes straight downwards; and its lateral roots are so small as to afford no shelter against rain. So again, the roots of the cotton shrub run too near the surface of the earth to prevent the access of rain; and are neither sufficiently permanent, nor firm enough to resist the agitation by the usual winds. The same observation will be found true with respect to cacao, plantains, maize, tobacco, indigo, and many other species of trees and plants.

Trees or plants of the first description always suffer more or less in lands infested with these ants; whereas those of the latter never do. Hence we may fairly conclude, that the mischief done by these insects is occasioned only by their lodging and making their nests about the roots of particular trees or plants. Thus the roots of the sugar-canes are somehow or other so much injured by them, as to be incapable of performing their office of supplying due nourishment to the plants, which, therefore, become sickly and stunted, and consequently do not afford juices fit for making sugar in either tolerable quantity or quality.

That these ants do not feed on any part of the canes or trees affected seems very clear, for no loss of substance in either the one or the other has ever been

observed; nor have they ever been seen carrying off vegetable substances of any sort.

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On the contrary, there is the greatest presumption that these ants are carnivorous, and feed entirely on animal substances; for if a dead insect, or animal food of any sort, was laid in their way, it was immediately carried off. It was almost impossible to preserve cold victuals from them. The largest carcases, as soon as they began to become putrid, so as that they could separate the parts, soon disappeared. Negroes with sores had difficulty to keep the ants from the edges of them. They destroyed all other vermin, rats in particular, of which they cleared every plantation they came upon, which they probably effected by attacking their young. It was found that poultry, or other small stock, could be raised with the greatest difficulty; and the eyes, nose, and other emunctories of the bodies of dying or dead animals were instantly covered with these ants.

From what has been said it appears, that a dry situation, so as to exclude the ordinary rains from their nests or cells, appropriated for the reception of their eggs or young brood, is absolutely necessary; but that these situations, however well calculated for the usual weather, could not afford this protection from rain during the hurricane, may be easily conceived.

When by the violence of the tempest heavy pieces of artillery were removed from their places, and houses and sugar works levelled with the ground, there can be no doubt that trees, and every thing growing above ground, must have greatly suffered. This was the case. Great numbers of trees and plants (which commonly resist the ordinary winds) were torn out by the

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root. The canes were universally either lodged or twisted about as if by a whirlwind, or torn out of the ground altogether. In the latter case, the breeding ants, with their progeny, must have been exposed to inevitable destruction from the deluge of rain which fell at the same time. The number of canes, however, thus torn out of the ground, could not have been adequate to the sudden diminution of the sugar ants; but it is easy to conceive that the roots of canes which remained on the ground, and the earth about them, were so agitated and shaken, and at the same time the ants' nest were so broken open or injured by the violence of the wind, as to admit the torrents of rain accompanying it. I apprehend, therefore, that the principal destruction of these ants must have been thus effected.

It must not however be denied, that though nature for a time may permit a particular species of animal to become so disproportionably numerous as to endanger some other parts of her works, she herself will in due time put a check upon the too great increase; and that is often done by an increase of some other animal inimical to the former destroyers. In the present case, however, nothing of that sort appeared; therefore, when a plain natural cause, obvious to our senses, occurred, by which we can account for the amazing and sudden decrease of those ruinous insects, it is unnecessary to recur to other possible causes too minute for our investigation.

... All I have said on this subject would certainly be of little or no consequence, did it not lead to the true method of cultivating the sugar-cane on lands infested with those destructive insects; in which point of view, however, it becomes important.

If then the above doctrine be just, it follows that the whole of our attention must be turned to the destruction of the nests of these ants, and consequently the breeding ants with their eggs or young brood.

In order to effect this, all trees and fences, under the roots of which these ants commonly take their residence, should first be grubbed out; particularly lime or lemon fences, which are very common in Grenada, and which generally suffered from the ants before the canes appeared, in the least injured; after which the canes should be stumped out with care, and the stools burnt as soon as possible, together with the field trash, (or the dried leaves and tops of the canes), in order to prevent the ants from making their escape to new quarters. The best way of doing this, I apprehend, will be to gather the field trash together in considerable heaps, and to throw the stools as soon as dug out of the ground into them, and immediately apply fire. By this means multitudes must be destroyed; for the field trash, when dry, burns with great rapidity. The land should then be ploughed or hoe-ploughed twice (but at least once) in the wettest season of the year, in order to admit the rains, before it is hoed for planting the cane; by these means these insects, I apprehend, will be so much reduced in number as at least to secure a good plant cane.

But it is the custom in most of the West India islands to permit the canes to ratoon: that is, after the canes have once been cut down for the purpose of making sugar, they are suffered to grow up again without replanting; and this generally for three or four years, but sometimes for ten, fifteen, or twenty. In this mode of culture the stools become larger every year, so as to grow out of the ground to a consider-

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able height, and by that means afford more and more shelter to the ants' nests; therefore for two or three successive crops the canes should be replanted yearly, so as not only to afford as little cover as possible for the ants' nests, but continually to disturb such ants as may have escaped, in the business of propagating their species.

That considerable expense and labour will attend putting this method into execution there is no doubt. An expensive cure, however, is better than none; but from the general principles of agriculture, I am of opinion that the planter will be amply repaid for his trouble by the goodness of his crops, in consequence of the superior tilth the land will receive in the proposed method.

CHAPTER III.

ST. VINCENT AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,

DOMINICA.

THE civil history of these islands may be comprised in a narrow compass; for the sovereignty of them having been long an object of dispute between the crowns of Great Britain and France, the rightful possessors, the Charaibes, derived that security from the reciprocal envy and avarice of the contending parties, which they might have expected in vain from their justice and humanity. As both St. Vincent and Dominica were included, with many other islands, in the Earl of Carlisle's patent, it is not wonderful that attempts were made, at different times, to bring them under the English dominion. These attempts the French constantly opposed; with design, it was urged, secretly and surreptitiously to occupy the islands themselves; and their conduct towards

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the Charaibes on other occasions seems to justify the suggestion.

But whatever might have been their motives, they exerted themselves with such effect, that the English were compelled to relinquish all hopes of obtaining these islands by force;—for by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (1748), St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Tobago, were declared neutral, and the ancient proprietors (such as remained of them) were at length left in unmolested possession.

The disputes and hostilities which these attempts of the English on the one hand, and resistance of the French on the other, gave rise to in this part of the world, are no longer interesting, and therefore need not be brought again to remembrance. The depravity and injustice of mankind are at all times subjects of unpleasing speculation; but the subsequent conduct of both nations, respecting the islands which they had declared neutral, is too remarkable to be overlooked; even of historical precision did not, as in the present case it does, require me to relate the circumstances attending it.

The treaty of neutrality was no sooner concluded, than both English and French appeared dissatisfied with the arrangement which they had made. The latter seem not to have considered until it was too late, that by restricting the English from the occupancy of those coun-

tries, on the ground of right in a third party, they precluded themselves at the same time. The English, on the other hand, discovered that, by acceding to the compromise, they had given up St. Lucia, an island worth all the rest, and to which it must be owned we had some colourable pretensions founded on a treaty entered into with the Charaibean inhabitants in 1664, six hundred of whom attended an armament that was sent thither by Lord Willoughby, and actually put the English publicly and formally into possession.

Both nations being thus alike dissatisfied with an arrangement which left nothing to either, it may be supposed, that on the conclusion of the war which broke out a few years afterwards, a very different stipulation took place. The French no longer pleaded scruples on behalf of the Charaibes, but very cordially concurred with the English in dividing the spoil. By the 9th article of the peace of Paris, signed the 10th of February 1763, the three islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, were assigned to Great Britain; and St. Lucia to France, in full and perpetual sovereignty; the Charaibes not being once mentioned in the whole transaction, as if no such people existed. They were in truth reduced to a miserable remnant. Of the ancient, or, as they were

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called by the English, Red-Cheribes, not more than a hundred families survived in 1763, and of all their ancient and extensive possessions, these poor people retained only a mountainous district in the island of St. Vincent. Of this island and its dependencies I shall now treat, reserving Dominica for a separate section.

#### SECTION I.

#### ST. VINCENT.

“THE Spaniards,” says Doctor Campbell, “bestowed the name of St. Vincent upon this island, because they discovered it upon the 22d of January, which in their calendar is St. Vincent’s day; but it does not appear that they were ever, properly speaking, in possession of it, the Indians being very numerous here, on account of its being the rendezvous of their expeditions to the continent.” Unfortunately, however, neither their numbers, nor the natural strength of the country, exempted them from hostility. What avarice had in vain attempted, accident accomplished, by procuring an establishment among them for a race of people, whom, though at first behold by the na-

tive Charibes with contempt or pity, they have since found formidable rivals and merciless conquerors. These people have been long distinguished, however improperly, by the name of *Black Charibes*.

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Of the origin of these intruders, and their ancient connexion with the native Charibes, the best account that I have been able to find is in a small treatise of the author above quoted (Doctor Campbell), entitled "Candid and impartial Considerations on the Nature of the Sugar-trade," which being equally authentic and curious, I shall present to my readers entire; and with the less scruple, because it consists chiefly of an official paper which cannot be abridged without injury.

"In 1672, King Charles thought fit to divide these governments, and by a new commission appointed Lord Willoughby Governor of Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica; Sir William Stapleton being appointed Governor of the other Leeward Isles, and this separation has subsisted ever since, the same islands being constantly inserted in every new governor's patent. On the demise of Lord Willoughby, Sir Jonathan Atkins was appointed Governor of Barbadoes, and the rest of these islands, and so continued till 1680, when he was succeeded by Sir Richard Dutton, who being sent for to England in 1685, appointed

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Colonel Edwin Stede, Lieutenant-Governor, who vigorously asserted our rights by appointing deputy governors for the other islands; and particularly sent Captain Temple, hither to prevent the French from wooding and watering without our permission, to which they had been encouraged by the inattention of the former Governors; persisting steadily in this conduct, till it was signified to him, as we have had occasion to remark before, that the king had signed an act of neutrality, and that commissioners were appointed by the two courts to settle all differences relative to these islands.

“Some years after, a ship from Guinea, with a large cargo of slaves, was either wrecked or run on shore upon the island of St. Vincent, into the woods and mountains of which great numbers of the negroes escaped.\* Here, whether willingly or unwillingly is a little uncertain, the Indians suffered them to remain;

\* I am informed by Sir William Young, who is perfectly well acquainted with these people, that they were originally a race of *Mozes*, a tribe or nation from the *Right of Benja*. They were wrecked, on the coast of *Bequin*, a small island about two leagues from St. Vincent, in the year 1675, and were afterwards joined by great numbers of fugitive negroes from the other islands. The *Red Charaibes* first kept them in slavery; but finding their numbers increase, came to a resolution to put to death all their male children, upon which the blacks rose on their masters, who by degrees have almost all perished in the contest.

and partly by the accession of runaway slaves from Barbadoes, partly by the children they had by the Indian women, they became very numerous; so that about the beginning of the current century they constrained the Indians to retire into the north-west part of the island. These people, as may be reasonably supposed, were much dissatisfied with this treatment; and complained of it occasionally both to the English and to the French, that came to wood and water amongst them. The latter at length suffered themselves to be prevailed upon to attack these invaders, in the cause of their old allies; and from a persuasion that they should find more difficulty in dealing with these negroes, in case they were suffered to strengthen themselves, than with the Indians. After much deliberation, in the year 1719, they came with a considerable force from Martinico; and landing without much opposition, began to burn the negro huts and destroy their plantations, supposing that the Indians would have attacked them in the mountains, which if they had done, the blacks had probably been extirpated, or forced to submit and become slaves. But either from fear or policy, the Indians did nothing, and the negroes sallying in the night, and retreating in the day to places inaccessible to the whites, destroyed so many of the French, (amongst whom was Mr. Paulian, major of Martinique, who com-

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manded them) that they were forced to retire. When by this experiment they were convinced that force would not do, they had recourse to fair means, and by dint of persuasion and presents, patched up a peace with the negroes as well as the Indians, from which they received great advantage.

“ Things were in this situation when Captain Uring came with a considerable armament to take possession of St. Lucia and this island, in virtue of a grant from our late sovereign King George .L. to the late Duke of Montague. When the French had dislodged this gentleman, by a superior force, from St. Lucia, he sent Captain Braithwaite to try what could be done at the island of St. Vincent, in which he was not at all more successful, as will best appear from that gentleman’s report to Mr. Uring, which, as it contains curious circumstances relative to the country, and to the two independent nations who then inhabited it, belongs properly to this subject, and cannot but prove entertaining to the reader. The paper is without date, but it appears from Mr. Uring’s memoirs that this transaction happened in the spring of the year 1723.”

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"In pursuance of a resolution in council,
"and your order for so doing, the day you
"sailed with his Grace's colony for Antego, I
"sailed with the Griffin sloop, in company with
"his Majesty's ship the Winchelsea, to St. Vin-
"cent. We made the island that night, and
"next morning run along shore, and saw se-
"veral Indian huts, but as yet no Indians came
"off to us, nor could we get ashore to them,
"by reason there was no ground to anchor in.
"Towards the evening two Indians came on
"board, and told us we might anchor in a bay
"to leeward, and when we were at anchor
"they would bring their General on board.
"Here we came to an anchor in deep water,
"and very dangerous for the sloop. One,
"whom they call General, came on board,
"with several others, to the number of twenty-
"two. I entertained them very handsomely,
"and made the Chief some trifling presents,
"but found he was a person of no conse-
"quence, and that they called him *Chief* to
"get some presents from me. Here two of
"the Indians were so drunk they would not
"go ashore, but staid on board some days, and
"were well entertained. After this, little winds
"and great currents drove us off for several
"days; but at last, we came to an anchor in a

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“ spacious bay, to leeward of all the islands, the
“ draught of which I ordered to be taken by
“ our surveyor; for your better understanding
“ the place, being the only one where a settle-
“ ment could be made. The ship and sloop
“ were scarce come to anchor, before the strand
“ of the shore was covered with Indians, and
“ among them we could discover a white,
“ who proved to be a Frenchman. I took
“ Captain Watson in the boat with me, with a
“ Frenchman, and immediately went ashore.
“ As soon as I came amongst them, I asked
“ them why they appeared all armed? For
“ every man had cutlasses, some had musquets,
“ pistols, bows and arrows, &c. They with
“ very little ceremony inclosed me, and carried
“ me up the country about a mile, over a
“ little rivulet, where I was told I was to see
“ their General. I found him sitting amidst
“ a guard of about a hundred Indians; those
“ nearest his person had musquets, the rest
“ bows and arrows, and great silence. He
“ ordered me a seat, and a Frenchman stood
“ at his right hand for an interpreter: he de-
“ manded of me, what brought me into this
“ country, and of what nation? I told him
“ English, and I was put in to wood and wa-
“ ter, as not caring to say any thing else be-
“ fore the Frenchman; but told him if he would
“ be pleased to come on board our ships, I



“ would leave Englishmen in hostage for him
“ and those he should be pleased to bring
“ with him; but I could not prevail with him
“ either to come on board, or suffer me to have
“ wood and water. He said he was informed
“ we were come to force a settlement, and we
“ had no other way to remove that jealousy but
“ to get under sail. As soon as I found what
“ influence the Frenchman's company had upon
“ them, I took my leave, after making such re-
“ plies as I thought proper, and returned to my
“ boat under a guard. When I came to the
“ shore, I found the guard there were increased
“ by a number of negroes, all armed with fuzees.
“ I got in my boat, without any injury, and went
“ on board to Captain Orme, and told him my
“ ill success.

“ Immediately after, I sent on shore the
“ ship's boat with a mate, with rum, beef and
“ bread, &c. with some cutlasses, and ordered a
“ Frenchman who went with the mate, to de-
“ sire the guard to conduct them to their Ge-
“ neral, and to tell him, that though he denied
“ me the common good of water and a little
“ useless wood, nevertheless I had sent him such
“ refreshments as our ships afforded. Our
“ people found the Frenchman gone, and that
“ then the Indian General seemed pleased, and
“ received what was sent him, and in return
“ sent me bows and arrows.

“ Our people had not been long returned
“ before their General sent a canoe, with two
“ chief Indians, who spoke very good French,
“ to thank me for my presents, and to ask par-
“ don for his refusing me wood and water, and
“ assured me I might have what I pleased ; and
“ they had orders to tell me, if I pleased to go
“ ashore again, they were to remain hostages
“ for my civil treatment. I sent them on board
“ the man of war, and with Captain Watson
“ went on shore. I was well received, and con-
“ ducted as before. But now I found the bro-
“ ther of the chief of the negroes was arrived,
“ with five hundred negroes, most armed with
“ fuzees. They told my interpreter they were
“ assured we were come to force a settlement,
“ or else they would not have denied me what
“ they never before denied any English, viz.
“ wood and water : but, if I pleased, I might
“ take in what I wanted under a guard. Find-
“ ing them in so good a humour, I once more
“ introduced the desire I had to entertain them
“ on board our ships, and with some difficulty
“ prevailed with them, by leaving Captain
“ Watson on shore under their guard as a host-
“ age. I carried them on board the King’s
“ ship, where they were well entertained by
“ Captain Orme, who gave the Indian General
“ a fine fuzee of his own, and to the Chief of
“ the Negroes something that pleased him.

“ Captain Orme assured him of the friendship
“ of the King of England, &c. The Negro
“ Chief spoke excellent French, and gave an-
“ swers with the French compliments. After-
“ wards I carried them on board the Duke’s
“ sloop, and after opening their hearts with
“ wine, for they scorned to drink rum, I thought
“ it a good time to tell them my commission,
“ and what brought me on their coast. They
“ told me it was well I had not mentioned it
“ ashore, for their power could not have pro-
“ tected me; that it was impossible; the Dutch
“ had before attempted it, but were glad to re-
“ tire. They likewise told me, two French
“ sloops had, the day before we came, been
“ amongst them, gave them arms and ammuni-
“ tion, and assured them of the whole force of
“ Martinico for their protection against us.
“ They told them also, that they had drove us
“ from St. Lucia, and that now we were come
“ to endeavour to force a settlement there; and,
“ notwithstanding all our specious pretences,
“ when we had power, we should enslave them;
“ but declared they would trust no Europeans;
“ that they owned themselves under the pro-
“ tection of the French, but would as soon op-
“ pose their settling amongst them, or any act
“ of force from them, as us, as they had lately
“ given an example, by killing several; and
“ they further told me, it was by very large pre-

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“sents the French ever got in their favour
 “again; but they resolved never to put it in
 “the power of any European to hurt them.
 “They advised me to think what they said was
 “an act of friendship. This being all I could
 “get from them, I dismissed them with such
 “presents as his grace ordered for that service,
 “with a discharge of cannon, and received in
 “return as regular volleys of small shot as I
 “ever heard. In the night the Winchelsea
 “drove from her anchors; which as soon as I
 “perceived, and had received Captain Watson
 “from the shore, I got under sail, and stood to
 “the man of war.”

Such is the history of a very weak and fruitless attempt which was made, under the authority of the British government, to obtain possession of this island in the year 1723: an interval of forty years succeeds, in which I find no occurrence in its history that deserves recital. The country continued to be a theatre of savage hostilities between the Negroes and the Charaibes, in which it is believed that the former were generally victorious; it is certain that they proved so in the end, their numbers, in 1763, being computed at two thousand; whereas of the red or native Charaibes, there were not left (as hath already been observed) more than one hundred families, and most of these, if I am rightly informed, are by this time exter-

minated. It is however worthy of remark, that the African intruders have adopted most of the Charaibean manners and customs; among the rest, the practice of flattening the foreheads of their infants, as described in the first part of this work, and perhaps it was chiefly from this circumstance that they acquired the appellation of the black Charaibes.

The first measure of the English government in respect to this island, after the peace of Paris, was to dispose of the lands—I dare not say to the best advantage! for no less than 24,000 acres, being more than one-fourth part of the whole country, were gratuitously assigned over to two individuals.* The remainder was ordered to be sold for the benefit of the public, and 20,538 acres were accordingly disposed of by auction for the sum of 162,854*l.* 1*l.* 7*d.* sterling.† As nearly one-half the country was

* Mr. Swinburne had twenty thousand acres, and General Monckton four thousand; but from the disputes which afterwards arose with the Charaibes, I believe they did not derive all the benefit from those grants which they expected.

† The Lords of the Treasury fixed a minimum, below which no land could be sold, which was 5*l.* sterling per acre for every acre of cleared land, and twenty shillings for every acre in wood, and the principal conditions of sale were these: “that every purchaser should pay down twenty per cent. of the whole purchase money, together with sixpence sterling per acre, for the expense of surveying the land, and that the remainder of the purchase mo-

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judged unfit for any profitable cultivation, these grants and sales comprehended all the lands, of any kind of value, from one end of the island to the other. The commissioners indeed were directed not to survey or dispose of any of the lands inhabited or claimed by the Charaibes, until they should receive further instructions from the crown; but as it was impossible to ascertain how far the claims of these people extended, the survey alone was postponed, and the sales were suffered to proceed, to the amount that I have mentioned; no doubt being entertained by the several purchasers, that the British government would ratify the acts of its commissioners, and put them into possession of the lands which they had bought, without any regard to the claims of the Charaibes; which in truth the purchasers seem to have considered as of no consequence or validity.

Of the measures which the British ministers afterwards adopted with regard to these people,

ney should be secured by bonds; to be paid by equal instalments in the space of five years next after the date of the grant. That each purchaser should keep on the lands so by him purchased, one white man, or two white women, for every hundred acres of land, as it became cleared, for the purpose of cultivating the same; or in default thereof, or non-payment of the remainder of the purchase money, the lands were to be forfeited to the crown." Some of the lands sold extravagantly high, as far as fifty pounds sterling per acre.

I have spoken in the former editions of this work harshly and incorrectly; and I feel no disgrace in retracting involuntary error. The representation which I gave, had however the good effect of calling forth an historical account of those measures from my most respectable friend Sir William Young, Bart. founded on official papers and original documents in his possession, and drawn up with all that candour and perspicuity which were to have been expected from its author's distinguished character and talents.

As the subject is no longer interesting to the public, I need only observe, that if the claim of the British crown to the sovereignty of this country was originally just and valid, then I do readily acknowledge that the measures pursued by the British administration to enforce that claim, were as lenient and considerate as the case could possibly allow; and I was misinformed when I gave a different representation. Nevertheless, I will not sacrifice, even on the shrine of friendship, the dignity of historical narration, by asserting that my friend has entirely convinced me that the pretensions of Great Britain were originally founded on any other plea than that of political expediency.—I am here speaking of the British claim, *as against the actual possessors of the country, the black Charaibes.* This claim, no cession or abandon-

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ment on the part of France could have strengthened; inasmuch as Great Britain herself constantly disputed the pretensions of that crown to the neutral islands; St. Vincent among the rest. The Charaibes themselves, as the report above quoted demonstrates, and as my friend admits, uniformly and absolutely denied any right in any of the sovereigns of Europe to their allegiance. They averred that they knew no king, and would acknowledge none. They said "they had originally been landed on the island by shipwreck, and held it not only by right of conquest over the aborigines, but also by actual possession for near a century." Such was their title to St. Vincent's, and it would have been difficult, I think, for any nation in Europe to produce a better.

Happily, by the temperate counsels and the humane interposition of the civil commissioners employed by government to dispose of the lands, the contest with these people (not however until hostilities had been commenced and many lives sacrificed) was at length finally compromised and adjusted to the satisfaction, as it was then hoped, of the contending parties. A treaty of peace and friendship was concluded with them on the 27th February, 1773; the articles of which I have subjoined in an appendix to this chapter.

By this treaty the situation of the Charaibes,

in respect to the crown of Great Britain, was ^{clearly} defined and clearly expressed; and I admit that ^{the} their future conduct was to be tried by the terms of it.

On the 19th of June, 1779, St. Vincent's shared the common fate of most of the British West Indian possessions, in that unfortunate war with America, which swallowed up all the resources of the nation, being captured by a small body of troops from Martinico, consisting of only four hundred and fifty men, commanded by a Lieutenant in the French navy. The black Charaibes, however, notwithstanding the treaty of 1773, immediately joined the enemy, and there is no doubt that the terror which seized the British inhabitants, from an apprehension that those people would proceed to the most bloody enormities, contributed to the very easy victory which was obtained by the invaders; for the island surrendered without a struggle. The terms of capitulation were favourable, and the island was restored to the dominion of Great Britain by the general pacification of 1783. It contained at that time sixty-one sugar estates, five hundred acres in coffee, two hundred acres in cacao, four hundred in cotton, fifty in indigo, and five hundred in tobacco, besides land appropriated to the raising provisions, such as plantains, yams, maize, &c.

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All the rest of the country, excepting the few spots that had been cleared from time to time by the Charaibes, retained its native woods, and most of it, I believe, continues in the same state to the present hour.

It is remarkable that no stipulation was made by the French government on this occasion, on behalf of their allies the Charaibes, whom they had seduced from their allegiance; and it therefore reflects great honour both on the British government and the resident planters, that no advantage was taken of their misconduct. The Charaibes, even those who had been the most active in the war, were permitted to return peaceably to their possessions and occupations. They were treated as an ignorant and deluded people; as objects of compassion, not of vengeance; and it was prudently and generously agreed, as by common consent, to bury all past offences and causes of complaint in oblivion.

St. Vincent's contains about 84,000 acres, which are every where well watered, but the country is very generally mountainous and rugged; the intermediate valleys, however, are fertile in a high degree, the soil consisting chiefly of a fine mould, composed of sand and clay, well adapted for sugar. The extent of country at present possessed by British subjects is 23,605 acres, and about as much more is supposed to

be held by the Charaibes. All the remainder is
thought to be incapable of cultivation or im-
provement.

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The island, or rather the British territory within it, is divided into five parishes, of which only one was provided with a church, and that was blown down in the hurricane of 1780: whether it is rebuilt I am not informed. There is one town, called Kingston, the capital of the island, and the seat of its government, and three villages that bear the name of towns, but they are inconsiderable hamlets, consisting each of a few houses only.

But the public establishment that reflects the greatest honour on St. Vincent's is its celebrated botanic garden, under the provident and well-directed care of Mr. Anderson. It consists of 30 acres, of which no less than sixteen are in high cultivation, abounding not only with almost every species of the vegetable world, which the hand of nature has bestowed on these islands for use and beauty, for food and luxury, but also with many valuable exotics from the East Indies, and South America. If it be surpassed in this latter respect, by the magnificent garden of Mr. East,* it claims at least the honour of seniority, and does infinite credit both to its original founders and present directors.

* In Jamaica. See p. 203.

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In the frame of its government and the administration of executive justice, St. Vincent's seems to differ in no respect from Grenada--- The councils consist of twelve members, the assembly of seventeen. The Governor's salary (exclusive of fees of office) is two thousand pounds sterling, of which 1,500*l.* is a charge upon the fund arising from the duty of 4½ per centum. The remainder is by grant of the assembly.

The military force consists at present of a regiment of infantry, and a company of artillery, sent from England; and a black corps raised in the country---but provided for, with the former on the British establishment, and receiving no additional pay from the island. The militia consists of two regiments of foot, serving without pay of any kind.

The number of inhabitants appears, by the last returns to government, to be one thousand four hundred and fifty Whites, and eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty-three Negroes.

Of the labour of these people I have no other means of shewing the returns, than from the Inspector General's account of the exports from this island for 1787, a table of which, as in the case of the other islands, is subjoined. In this table, however, I conceive is comprehended the produce of the several islands dependent on the St. Vincent government, *viz.* Bequia, containing 3,700 acres. This little island is valuable from

the commodiousness of its fine harbour called Admiralty Bay; Union, containing 2,150 acres; Canotane, containing 1,777 acres; and Mustique, containing about 1,203 acres;* the Negroes employed in the cultivation of these islands (in number about 1,400) being, I believe, included in the 11,853 before mentioned.

* There are likewise the little Islets of Petit Martinique, Petit St. Vincent, Maillereau, and Ballesau, each of which produces a little cotton.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared outwards from the Island of St. Vincent, &c. to all Parts of the World, between the 5th of January, 1787, and the 5th of January, 1788, with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London. By the Inspector General of Great Britain.

Whither bound.	Shipping.			Cut Sugar.	Rum.	Melass.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Cacao.	Value of Miscellaneous Articles, as Hydes, Dying Woods, &c.	Total Value according to the Prices current in London.
	No.	Tons.	Men.								
To Great Britain .	30	6,086	463	64,449 1 27	15,766	9,656	632 1 5	760,380	99 2 24	L. 9,570 7 6	175,571 9 6
American States	21	2,587	174	579 0 0	51,300	- -	2 0 0	1,500	43 2 0	16 0 0	9,019 1 8
Foreign West Indies .	71	3,963	332	- -	21,200	- -	- -	- -	- -	5 3 6	1,860 3 6
Totals .	122	12,636	969	65,028 1 27	88,266	9,656	634 1 5	761,880	143 0 24	9,591 11 0	186,450 14 8

SECTION II.

DOMINICA.

THE island of Dominica was so named by Christopher Columbus, from the circumstance of its being discovered by him on a Sunday.* My account of it will be very brief, for its civil history, like that of St. Vincent, is a mere blank previous to the year 1759, when by conquest it fell under the dominion of Great Britain, and was afterwards confirmed to the British crown, by the treaty of peace concluded at Paris in February, 1763.

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Notwithstanding that Dominica had, until that time, been considered as a neutral island, many of the subjects of France had established coffee plantations, and other settlements, in various parts of the country; and it reflects honour on the British administration, that these people were secured in their possessions, on

* November 3d, 1493. It was the first land which he discovered in his second voyage, after having been twenty days at sea from the Canaries.

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condition of taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty and paying a small quit-rent.* The rest of the cultivable lands were ordered to be sold on the same conditions as those of St. Vincent, by commissioners nominated for that purpose, and no less than 94,346 acres (comprehending one-half of the island) were accordingly disposed of by auction, in allotments from fifty to one hundred acres, yielding the sum of 312,092*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* sterling money.†

It does not however appear that the purchases thus made by British subjects have answered the expectation of the buyers; for the French inhabitants of Dominica are still more numerous than the English, and possess the most valuable coffee plantations in the island, the produce of which

* The crown granted them leases, some for fourteen, and others for forty years, renewable at the expiration thereof, with conditions in every lease, "that the possessor, his heirs or assigns, should pay to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, the sum of two shillings sterling *per annum*, for every acre of land, of which the lease should consist." And further, "that they should not sell or dispose of their lands, without the consent or approbation of the governor, or commander in chief of that island, for the time being." This indulgence however did not extend to more than three hundred acres of land occupied by each French subject.

† No person was allowed to purchase, either in his own name, or in the name of others, in trust for him, more than three hundred acres, if in Dominica, or five hundred acres if in St. Vincent.

has hitherto been found its most important staple. They differ but little, in manners, customs and religion, from the inhabitants of the other French islands in the West Indies, and their priests have been hitherto appointed by superiors in Martinico; to the government of which island, and to the laws of their own nation; they consider themselves to be amenable.

I am sorry historical justice obliges me to observe, that the liberal conduct of the British government towards these people, after they became adopted subjects, did not meet with that grateful return from them, which, for the general interests of mankind, ought to be religiously manifested on such occasions.

At the commencement of the hopeless and destructive war between Great Britain and her Colonies in North America, the island of Dominica was in a flourishing situation. The port of Roseau having been declared a free port by act of parliament, was resorted to by trading vessels from most parts of the foreign West Indies, as well as from America. The French and Spaniards purchased great numbers of Negroes there for the supply of their settlements, together with vast quantities of the merchandize and manufactures of Great Britain; payment for all which was made chiefly in bullion, indigo, and cotton, and completed in mules

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and cattle ; articles of prime necessity to the planter.*

Thus the island, though in itself certainly not so fertile as some others of less extent in its neighbourhood, was becoming very rapidly a colony of considerable importance ; but unfortunately it wanted that protection, which alone could give its possessions stability and value.

To those who recollect the frantic rage with which all the faculties and means of Great Britain were directed towards, and applied in, the subjugation of America, the utter disregard which was manifested by the then administration towards the security of this and the other British islands in the West Indies, may not perhaps be matter of surprise ; but it will hereafter be scarcely believed, that the whole regular force allotted, during the height of the war, for the protection of Dominica, consisted of no more than six officers and ninety-four privates ! This shameful neglect was the more remarkable, as this island, from its local situation, between Martinico and Guadaloupe, is the best calculated of all the possessions of Great Britain in that part of the world, for securing to her the dominion

* Roseau is still a free port, but the restrictions and regulations of the late act are so rigid, that foreigners are discouraged from resorting to it, and, since some late seizures, consider the laws as a snare to invite them to ruin.

of the Charaibean sea. A few ships of war stationed at Prince Rupert's Bay, would effectually stop all intercourse of the French settlements with each other, as every vessel is liable to capture by ships cruizing off that bay, and to windward of the island. This indeed was discovered when it was too late.

It is probable that this, and the other circumstances which I have recounted, namely, the growing prosperity of the colony, and the criminal inattention of the British ministry towards its security, had already attracted the vigilant rapaciousness of the French government; but it is asserted, that many of the inhabitants within the colony, who had formerly been subjects of France, scrupled not on the first intimation that hostilities had been commenced in Europe, in the year 1778, to invite an attack from Martinico. Proof of this may not perhaps easily be produced, but it is certain that their subsequent conduct gave too much cause for such a suspicion.

On Monday, the 7th of September, in that year, a French armament, consisting of a forty-gun ship, three frigates, and about thirty sail of armed sloops and schooners, having on board two thousand regular troops, and a lawless banditti of volunteers, about half that number, appeared off the island, under the command of the Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Marti-

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mico, and General of the French Windward West Indian Islands. Part of the troops having soon afterwards landed without opposition, the enemy proceeded to the attack of Fort Cashacrou, the chief defence of the island, and in which a detachment of the regulars was stationed. This fort was built on a rock, about three hundred feet in perpendicular height, surrounded on three sides by the sea, and was considered so very defensible, that it was supposed a few hundred men well-provided, would maintain it against as many thousands. Great therefore was the astonishment of the English in the town of Roseau, in perceiving, by the French colours flying on it, that this fort had surrendered without resistance; but strange as it may seem, the case appeared afterwards to have been, that some of the French inhabitants had insinuated themselves into the fort a few nights before, and having intoxicated with liquor the few soldiers that were there on duty, had contrived to spike up the cannon!

Having thus made themselves masters of Fort Cashacrou, the enemy landed their whole force about noon, and began their march for the town, which was defended by Fort Melville, and three other batteries; but unfortunately these batteries were ill provided and worse manned. The whole number of the militia did not exceed one hundred and twenty; for but

few of the French inhabitants thought proper to assemble; and of those that made their appearance, many withdrew themselves again, and were no more seen until the island had surrendered.

The small force however that was collected, behaved with that spirit and gallantry, which give room to lament they were not better supported. Three times was the enemy driven out of Fort Loubiere, of which they had possessed themselves in their march, and twice were the colours which they had hoisted thereon shot away. Their Commissary-General, and forty of their soldiers, were killed, and Bouillé himself had a very narrow escape; his sword being shot away from his side.\*

But gallantry was unavailing against such superiority of numbers; for about two thousand of the French having gained possession of the heights above Roseau, this last circumstance determined the fate of the island. The bravery of the inhabitants, however, obtained for them, from their liberal and noble-minded conqueror, very honourable terms of capitulation. Besides being permitted to march out with all military honours, they were allowed to retain their arms,

\* General Bouillé himself afterwards affected to say, that he lost no men in the attack of Fort Loubiere, except the Commissary-General. The fact however was as above stated.

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their civil government, and the free exercise of their religion, laws, customs, and ordinances; to preserve the administration of justice in the same persons in whom it was then vested, and to enjoy their possessions, of what nature soever, unmolested; a privilege which was expressly extended to absent as well as resident proprietors.

De Bouillé having thus completed his conquest, departed for Martinico; leaving the Marquis Duchilleau, (a man of a far different character) commander in chief of Dominica; whose conduct, during four years that he continued in the island, is said to have been so wantonly oppressive and tyrannical, that we are left to wonder at the patient long-suffering and forbearance of the people under his government, in submitting to it for half the time.

His first measure was to disarm the English inhabitants, in direct violation of the capitulation, and he entered into a treaty with the runaway Negroes for their assistance, if wanted. He issued an order, forbidding the English to assemble together more than two in a place, and he commanded the sentinels to disperse them if they were found together in greater numbers. He ordered that no lights should be seen in their houses after nine o'clock at night, and that no English person should presume to walk the streets after that hour, without a candle and

lantern. Mr. Robert How, an English merchant, and owner of a ship then in the bay, attempting to go on board his own vessel after that hour, was shot dead in the attempt; and the sentinel who killed him was raised to a higher station in his regiment, for having thus (as the governor expressed it) *done his duty*.

So very apprehensive was this governor that the English inhabitants were forming designs to retake the island, that every letter of theirs was opened for his inspection before it was delivered. And deeming this measure insufficient to furnish him with knowledge of their private transactions, he adopted the practice of going himself in disguise, or employing others who better knew the English language, in order to listen at their doors and windows in the night-time, to the conversation which passed in domestic intercourse.

He repeatedly threatened to set fire to the town of Roseau, in case the island should be attacked; and though this was never attempted by the English forces, yet that town was set fire to (as it was believed) by the French soldiers, and there was every reason to suppose that the governor was privy to it. This supposition was strongly corroborated by his behaviour on the night of that melancholy scene, at which he himself was present the best part of

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the time, and, it is very confidently asserted, would not allow his soldiers to assist in extinguishing the flames, save only in houses that belonged to the French inhabitants.

This fire happened the evening of Easter Sunday, 1781, by which upwards of five hundred houses were consumed in a few hours; and a vast quantity of rich merchandize and effects destroyed, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

While the wretched inhabitants were thus groaning under domestic despotism, they had no resources from without. Their trade was entirely cut off, insomuch, that during five years and three months, the time that the island of Dominica was in possession of the French, it was not resorted to by any vessels from Old France, nor was any of its produce exported to that kingdom; but part of it was sent in neutral bottoms to the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, before its capture by Admiral Rodney; and from thence it was exported to England, under most extravagant expenses and loss to the proprietors.

Other parts of their produce were sent in Dutch vessels, which were engaged for the purpose in England, to Rotterdam; and after the breaking out of the war with the Dutch, the produce of Dominica was sent under imperial

colours to Ostend, where the sugar sold from six to eight pounds sterling the hogshead.

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These accumulated distresses ended in the absolute ruin of many of the planters, and no less than thirty sugar plantations were, in consequence thereof, thrown up and abandoned by the proprietors. At length, however, the day of deliverance arrived; for, in the month of January, 1783, Dominica was restored to the government of England. The joy which, on this event, animated the bosom and enlightened the countenance of every man, whom painful experience, under an arbitrary government, had taught to set a right value on the British constitution, may be conceived, but cannot be described. The inhabitants were now restored to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, under a civil establishment, similar to those of the other British colonies in the West Indies, which being hereafter to be described at length, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon in this place, except to observe, that the legislative authority of this island is vested in the commander in chief, a council of twelve gentlemen, and an assembly of nineteen members.\* The few ob-

\* The governor's salary, exclusive of his fees of office, is 1,300*l.* sterling, payable out of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duties; whether he has any addition from the colonial assembly, I am not informed.

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servations therefore which follow, concerning its present state and productions, will conclude my account.

Dominica contains 186,436 acres of land; and is divided into ten parishes. The town of Roseau is at present the capital of the island, and is situated in the parish of St. George, being about seven leagues from Prince Rupert's bay. It is on a point of land on the S. W. side of the island, which forms two bays, *viz.* Woodbridge's bay to the north, and Charlotteville bay to the southward.

Roseau is about half a mile in length, from Charlotteville to Roseau river, and mostly two furlongs in breadth, but less in some parts, being of a very irregular figure. It contains not more than five hundred houses, exclusive of the cottages occupied by negroes. Before its capture by the French, it contained upwards of one thousand.

This island is twenty-nine miles in length, and may be reckoned sixteen miles in breadth. It contains many high and rugged mountains, interspersed with fine valleys, and in general they appear to be fertile. Several of the mountains contain unextinguished volcanoes, which frequently discharge vast quantities of burning sulphur. From these mountains also issue springs of hot water, some of which are supposed

to possess great virtue in the case of tropical disorders. In some places the water is said to be hot enough to coagulate an egg.\*

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Dominica is well watered, there being upwards of thirty fine rivers in the island, besides a great number of rivulets. The soil, in most of the interior country, is a light, brown-coloured mould, and appears to have been washed from the mountains. Towards the sea-coast, and in many of the valleys, it is a deep, black, and rich native earth, and seems well adapted to the cultivation of all the articles of West Indian produce. The under stratum is in some parts a yellow or brick clay, in others a stiff terrace, but the land is in most places very stony.

I am afraid, however, that the quantity of fertile soil bears but a very small proportion to the whole; there not being more than fifty sugar plantations at present in cultivation, and it is computed, that on an average, one year with another, those fifty plantations do not produce annually more than three thousand hogsheads

\* In the woods of Dominica are innumerable swarms of bees, which lodge in the trees, and produce great quantities of wax and honey, both of which are equal in goodness to any in Europe. It is precisely the same species of bee as in Europe, and must have been transported thither; the native bee of the West Indies being a smaller species, unprovided with stings, and very different in its manners from the European.

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of sugar. This is certainly a very small quantity of that article for such an extensive island, or even for the number of sugar plantations at present under cultivation, allowing only one hundred acres of canes to each.

Coffee seems to answer better than sugar, there being somewhat more than two hundred coffee plantations in Dominica, which in favourable years have produced three millions of pounds weight.

A small part of the lands are also applied to the cultivation of cacao, indigo, and ginger; but I believe that most of these articles, as well as of the cotton, which are comprehended in the exports, have hitherto been obtained from the dominions of foreign states in South America, and imported into this island under the free-port law.

The number of white inhabitants of all descriptions and ages, appears, by the last returns to government, in 1788, to be 1,236; of free negroes, &c. 445, and of slaves 14,967. There are also from twenty to thirty families of the ancient natives, or Charaibes, properly so called. They are a very quiet, inoffensive people, speak a language of their own, and a little French, but none of them understand English.\*

\* A late writer gives the following account of these people: " They are of a clear copper-colour, have long,

Such is the information which I have collected concerning the civil history and present state of Dominica, for great part of which I am indebted to a late publication by Mr. Atwood.\* Nothing now remains but to set

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sleek, black hair: their persons are short, stout, and well made, but they disfigure their faces by flattening their foreheads in infancy. They live chiefly by fishing in the rivers and the sea, or by fowling in the woods, in both which pursuits they use their bows and arrows with wonderful dexterity. It is said they will kill the smallest bird with an arrow at a great distance, or transfix a fish at a considerable depth in the sea. They display also very great ingenuity in making curious wrought panniers, or baskets, of silk-grass, or the leaves and bark of trees."

\* See the History of the Island of Dominica, by Mr. Thomas Atwood, 1791. Treating of the natural productions of this island, Mr. Atwood gives the following account of an insect, which he calls *the vegetable fly*. "It is of the appearance and size of a small cockchafer, and buries itself in the ground, where it dies; and from its body springs up a small plant, which resembles a young coffee-tree, only that its leaves are smaller. The plant is often overlooked, from the supposition people have of its being no other than a coffee-plant; but on examining it properly, the difference is easily distinguished; the head, body, and feet of the insect appearing at the foot, as perfect as when alive." This account is extraordinary; but not more surprising than the Rev. Nicholas Collins's description, in the American Philosophical Transactions,\* of a certain *zoophyton* in the Ohio country, which (he declares) is alternately vegetable and animal; for having

\* Introduction to Vol. III. p. 23.

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forth the particulars and value of its productions, which I shall adopt, as in other cases, from the return of the Inspector General for the year 1787.

crawled about the woods in its animal state until it grows weary of that mode of existence, it fixes itself in the ground, and *becomes a stately plant, with a stem issuing from its mouth.* I give these accounts as I find them, without vouching for the veracity of either.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage, and Men (including their repeated Voyages) that cleared outwards from the Island of Dominica, to all Parts of the World, between the 5th January, 1787, and the 5th January, 1788, with the Species, Quantities, and Value of their Cargoes, according to the actual Prices in London.

| Whither bound.              | Shipping. |        | Sugar. |          | Rum.   | Melass. | Cacao.        | Coffee.       | Indigo. | Cotton. | Ginger. | Value of Miscellaneous Articles, as Hydea, Dying Woods, &c. | Total Value according to the Prices current in London. |
|-----------------------------|-----------|--------|--------|----------|--------|---------|---------------|---------------|---------|---------|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
|                             | No.       | Tons.  | Cwt.   | qr. lbs. | Galls. | Galls.  | Cwt. qr. lbs. | Cwt. qr. lbs. | lbs.    | lbs.    | Cwt.    | L. s. d.                                                    | L. s. d.                                               |
| To Great Britain .          | 56        | 8,682  | 58,665 | 1 21     | 1,492  | 9,423   | 1,126 2 26    | 17,387 3 6    | 11,250  | 961,066 | 161     | 11,635 11 3                                                 | 271,472 14 0                                           |
| Ireland .                   | 9         | 1,046  | 11,163 | 0 0      | 3,600  | -       | 8 0 4         | -             | -       | 9,750   | -       | 20 0 0                                                      | 19,900 11 6                                            |
| American States             | 16        | 2,003  | 1,066  | 0 0      | 31,600 | -       | 45 0 0        | 543 0 0       | -       | -       | -       | 194 0 0                                                     | 7,164 5 0                                              |
| British American Colonies } | 14        | 1,096  | 408    | 0 0      | 25,400 | 7,380   | 15 0 0        | 219 0 0       | -       | -       | -       | 21 13 6                                                     | 4,295 3 6                                              |
| Foreign West Indies . }     | 67        | 5,999  | -      | - -      | 1,300  | -       | -             | -             | -       | -       | -       | 41 6 0                                                      | 155 1 0                                                |
| Totals .                    | 162       | 18,126 | 71,302 | 1 21     | 63,392 | 16,803  | 1,194 3 2     | 18,149 3 6    | 11,250  | 970,816 | 161     | 11,912 10 9                                                 | 302,987 15 0                                           |

## APPENDIX

TO

## CHAPTER III. OF BOOK II.

A TREATY of Peace and Friendship, concluded the 17th of February, 1773, between his Excellency General Dalrymple, on the part of His Britannic Majesty, and by the Chiefs of Grand Sable, Masiraca, Rabacca, Macaricau Byera, Coubamaron Jambon, Colourie, Camacarabou Ourawarou, and Point Espaniol, for themselves, and the rest of the Charaibes of St. Vincent; that is to say :

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“ 1. ALL hostile proceedings are to cease, and a firm and lasting peace and friendship to succeed.

“ 2. The Charaibes shall acknowledge his Majesty to be the rightful sovereign of the island and domain of St. Vincent's; take an oath of fidelity to him as their King; promise absolute submission to his will, and lay down their arms.

“ 3. They shall submit themselves to the laws and obedience of his Majesty's government, and the Governor shall have power to enact further regula-

“ tions for the public advantage, as shall be convenient.  
“ (This article only respects their transactions with  
“ his Majesty’s subjects, not being Indians; their in-  
“ tercourse and customs with each other, in the quar-  
“ ters allotted them, not being affected by it.) And  
“ all new regulations are to receive his Majesty’s  
“ Governor’s approbation before carried into execu-  
“ tion.

“ 4. A portion of lands, hereafter mentioned, shall  
“ be allotted for the residence of the Charaibes; viz.  
“ from the river Byera to Point Espagniol on the  
“ one side, and from the river Anilibou to Point Es-  
“ pagniol on the other side, according to the lines  
“ to be drawn by his Majesty’s surveyors, from the  
“ source of the rivers to the tops of the mountains;  
“ the rest of the lands, formerly inhabited by Cha-  
“ raibes, for the future to belong entirely to his Ma-  
“ jesty.

“ 5. Those lands shall not be alienated, either by  
“ sale, lease, or otherwise, but persons properly au-  
“ thorized by his Majesty to receive them.

“ 6. Roads, ports, batteries, and communications  
“ shall be made, as his Majesty pleases.

“ 7. No undue intercourse with the French islands  
“ shall be allowed.

“ 8. Run-away slaves in the possession of the Cha-  
“ raibes are to be delivered up, and endeavours used  
“ to discover and apprehend the others; and an en-  
“ gagement shall be entered into, not to encourage,  
“ receive, or harbour any slave whatever: the forfeiture  
“ of lands shall be the penalty for harbouring slaves;  
“ and carrying them off the island shall be considered  
“ as a capital crime.

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" 9. Persons guilty of capital crimes against the  
" English are to be delivered up.

" 10. In time of danger, the Charaibes shall be  
" aiding and assisting to his Majesty's subjects against  
" their enemies."

" 11. The three chains to remain to his Majesty.

" 12. All conspiracies and plots against his Ma-  
" jesty, or his government, are to be made known to  
" his Governor, or other civil magistrates.

" 13. Leave (if required) is given to the Charaibes  
" to depart this island, with their families and proper-  
" ties, and assistance in their transportation.

" 14. Free access to the quarters allowed to the  
" Charaibes is to be given to persons properly em-  
" powered to go in pursuit of run-away slaves, and  
" safe conduct afforded them.

" 15. Deserters from his Majesty's service (if any)  
" and run-away slaves from the French, shall be de-  
" livered up, in order that they may be returned to  
" their masters.

" 16. The chiefs of the different quarters are to  
" render an account of the names and number of the  
" inhabitants of their respective districts.

" 17. The chiefs and other Charaibes, inhabitants,  
" are to attend the Governor, whenever required, for  
" his Majesty's service.

" 18. All possible facility, consistent with the laws  
" of Great Britain, is to be afforded to the Charaibes  
" in the sale of their produce, and in their trade to the  
" different British islands.

" 19. Entire liberty of fishing, as well on the coast  
" of St. Vincent's, as at the neighbouring keys, is to be  
" allowed them.

“ 20. In all cases, when the Charaibes conceive  
 “ themselves injured by his Majesty’s other subjects,  
 “ or other persons, and are desirous of having refer-  
 “ ence to the laws, or to the civil magistrates, an agent,  
 “ being one of his Majesty’s natural born subjects,  
 “ may be employed by themselves, or if more agree-  
 “ able at his Majesty’s cost.

“ 21. No strangers, or white persons, are to be  
 “ allowed to settle among the Charaibes, without per-  
 “ mission first obtained in writing from the Governor.

“ 22. These articles subscribed to and observed,  
 “ the Charaibes are to be pardoned, secured, and fixed  
 “ in their property, according to his Majesty’s direc-  
 “ tions given, and all past offences forgot.

“ 23. After the signing of this treaty, should any  
 “ of the Charaibes refuse to observe the condition of  
 “ it, they are to be considered and treated as enemies  
 “ by both parties, and the most effectual means used  
 “ to reduce them.

“ 24. The Charaibes shall take the following oath;  
 viz.

“ We, A. B. do swear, in the name of the im-  
 “ mortal God, and Christ Jesus, that we will  
 “ bear true allegiance to his Majesty George  
 “ the Third, of Great Britain, France, and  
 “ Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.;  
 “ and that we will pay due obedience to the  
 “ laws of Great Britain, and the Island of St.  
 “ Vincent; and will well and truly observe every  
 “ article of the treaty concluded between his  
 “ said Majesty and the Charaibes; and we do  
 “ acknowledge that his said Majesty is rightful  
 “ Lord and Sovereign of all the Island of St.

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" Vincent, and that the lands held by us the  
 " Charaibes are granted through his Majesty's  
 " clemency.

" On the part of his Majesty,

" W. Dalrymple.

" On the part of the Charaibes,

" Jean Baptiste,

" Simon,

" Dufont Begot,

" Lalime, senior.

" Boyordell,

" Baïamont,

" Dirang,

" Justin Baïamont,

" Chatoyér,

" Matthieu,

" Doucre Baramont,

" Jean Louis Pacquin,

" Lalime, junior,

" Gadel Goiban.

" Broca,

" John Baptiste,

" Saïce,

" Lonen,

" François Laron,

" Boyüdon,

" Saint Laron,

" Du Vallett,

" Anisette,

" Boucharie,

" Clement,

" Deruba Babilliard,

" Bigott,

" Canals."

## CHAPTER IV.

*Leeward Charaibbean Island Government, comprehending St. Christopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and the Virgin Islands.—Civil History and Geographical Description of each.—Table of Exports from each Island for 1787; and an Account of the Money arising from the Duty of Four and a half per Cent.—Observations concerning their Decline; and a short Account of the Islands of Bermudas and the Bahamas.*

THE British Leeward Islands, since the year 1672, have constituted one distinct government; the governor being styled Captain General of the *Leeward Charaibbean Islands*. He visits each occasionally, but his chief seat of residence is Antigua; the government of each, in the absence of the governor-general, being usually administered by a lieutenant-governor, whose authority is limited to that particular island, and where no lieutenant-governor is appointed, the president of the council takes the command. I shall treat of them separately, and afterwards combine, in a concise summary, those circumstances which are common to them all.

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Their civil history will be short; for in this part of my subject I have but little to add to the recital of Oldmixon, and other writers, who have preceded me; and where novelty is wanting, brevity is indispensibly requisite.

## SECTION I.

## ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

THE island of St. Christopher was called by its ancient possessors, the Charaibes, *Liantigua*, or the Fertile Island. It was discovered in November, 1493, by Columbus himself, who was so pleased with its appearance, that he honoured it with his own christian name. But it was neither planted nor possessed by the Spaniards. It was, however; (notwithstanding that the general opinion ascribed the honour of seniority to Barbadoes) the eldest of all the British territories in the West Indies, and, in truth, the common mother both of the English and French settlements in the Charaibbean islands. The fact, as related by an historian,\* to whose industry and knowledge I have been so largely indebted in my account of St. Vincent, was this: "In the number of those gentlemen who accompa-

\* Dr. John Campbell

nied Captain Roger North, in a voyage to Surinam, was Mr. Thomas Warner, who making an acquaintance there with Captain Thomas Painton, a very experienced seaman, the latter suggested how much easier it would be to fix, and preserve in good order, a colony in one of the small islands, despised and deserted by the Spaniards; than on that vast country, the continent, where, for want of sufficient authority, all things were fallen into confusion; and he particularly pointed out for that purpose the island of St. Christopher. This gentleman dying, Mr. Warner returned to England in 1620, resolved to put his friend's project in execution. He accordingly associated himself with fourteen other persons, and with them took his passage on board a ship bound to Virginia. From thence he and his companions sailed from St. Christopher's, where they arrived in January, 1623, and by the month of September following had raised a good crop of tobacco, which they proposed to make their staple commodity." It has been shewn in a former chapter, that the first actual establishment in Barbadoes took place the latter end of 1624.

By the generality of historians, who have treated of the affairs of the West Indies, it is asserted that a party of the French, under the command of a person of the name of D'Esnambuc, took possession of one part of this island,

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on the same day that Mr. Warner landed on the other; but the truth is, that the first landing of Warner and his associates happened two years before the arrival of D'Esnambuc; who, it is admitted by Du Tertre, did not leave France until 1625. Unfortunately, the English settlers, in the latter end of 1623, had their plantations demolished by a dreadful hurricane, which put a sudden stop to their progress. In consequence of this calamity, Mr. Warner returned to England to implore succour; and it was on that occasion that he sought and obtained the powerful patronage and support of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle. This nobleman caused a ship to be fitted out, laden with all kinds of necessaries. It was called the Hopewell; and arrived at St. Christopher's on the 18th of May, 1624; and thus he certainly preserved a settlement, which had otherwise died in its infancy. Warner himself did not return to St. Christopher's until the year following. He was then accompanied by a large body of recruits, and D'Esnambuc arrived about the same time; perhaps the same day. This latter was the captain of a French privateer; and having, in an engagement with a Spanish galleon of superior strength, been very roughly handled, he was obliged, after losing several of his men, to seek refuge in these islands. He brought with him to St. Christopher's about

thirty hardy veterans, and they were cordially received by the English, who appear at this time to have been under some apprehensions of the Charaibes. Hitherto Warner's first colony had lived on friendly terms with these poor savages, by whom they were liberally supplied with provisions: but having seized on their lands, the consciousness of deserving retaliation made the planters apprehensive of an attack, when probably none was intended. Du Tertre relates that the French and English receiving information of a projected revolt, concurred in a scheme for seizing the conspirators beforehand. Accordingly they fell on the Charaibes by night, and, having murdered in cold blood from one hundred to one hundred and twenty of the stoutest, drove all the rest from the island, except such of the women as were young and handsome, of whom, says the reverend historian, they made concubines and slaves. Such is the account of a contemporary author, Pere Du Tertre, who relates these transactions with perfect composure, as founded on common usage, and not unwarrantable in their nature. He adds, that such of the Charaibes as escaped the massacre, having given the alarm to their countrymen in the neighbouring islands, a large body of them returned soon afterwards, breathing revenge; and now the conflict became serious. The Europeans,

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however, more from the superiority of their weapons, than of their valour, became conquerors in the end; but their triumph was dearly purchased; one hundred of their number having been left dead on the field of battle.

After this exploit, which Du Tertre calls a glorious victory, the Charaibes appear to have quitted altogether this and some of the small islands in the neighbourhood, and to have retired southwards. The two leaders, Warner and D'Esnambuc, about the same time, found it necessary to return to Europe for the purpose of soliciting succour from their respective nations; and bringing with them the name of conquerors, they severally met with all possible encouragement. Warner was knighted by his sovereign, and through the interest of his noble patron sent back as governor in 1626 with four hundred new recruits, amply supplied with necessaries of all kinds; while D'Esnambuc, under the patronage of Richlieu (the minister of France) projected the establishment of an exclusive company for trading to this and some of the other islands. That minister concurred with D'Esnambuc in opinion, that such an institution was best adapted to the purposes of commerce and colonization;—an erroneous conclusion, which D'Esnambuc himself had soon abundant occasion to lament; for the French in general either misunderstood or disapproved

the project. Subscriptions came in reluctantly, and the ships which the new company fitted out on this occasion, were so wretchedly supplied with provisions and necessaries, that of five hundred and thirty-two recruits who sailed from France, with D'Esnambuc, in February, 1627, the greater part perished miserably at sea for want of food.

The English received the survivors with compassion and kindness; and for preventing contests in future about their respective limits, the commanders of each nation agreed to divide the whole island pretty equally between their followers. A treaty of partition for this purpose was reduced to writing, and signed, with many formalities, on the third of May, 1627; it comprehended also a league defensive and offensive; but this alliance proved of little avail against the Spanish invasion in 1629, the circumstances whereof I have elsewhere related.\* Yet surely, unjustifiable as that attack may be deemed, if the conduct of the new settlers towards the Caribæes was such as Du Tertre relates, we have but little cause to lament over the miseries which befell them. The mind exults in the chastisement of cruelty, even when the instruments of vengeance are as criminal as the objects of punishment.

\*Book II. Chap. ii.

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It may now be thought that those of the two nations who survived so destructive a storm, had learnt moderation and forbearance in the school of adversity; and indeed for some years they appear to have lived on terms of good neighbourhood with each other; but at length national rivalry and hereditary animosity were allowed their full influence, insomuch that, for half a century afterwards, this little island exhibited a disgusting scene of internal contention, violence, and bloodshed. It is impossible at this time to pronounce with certainty, whether the French or the English were the first aggressors. It is probable that each nation would lay the blame on the other. We are told that in the first Dutch war, in the reign of Charles II. the French king declaring for the United States, his subjects in St. Christopher's, disdaining an inglorious neutrality, attacked the English planters, and drove them out of their possessions; which were afterwards, by the treaty of Breda, restored to them. In 1689, in consequence of the revolution which had taken place in England the preceding year, the French planters in this island, declaring themselves in the interests of the abdicated monarch, attacked and expelled their English neighbours a second time, laying waste their plantations, and committing such outrages as are unjustifiable among civilized nations, even in a time of open and avowed

hostility. Their conduct on this occasion was deemed so cruel and treacherous, that it was assigned by King William and Queen Mary among the causes which induced them to declare war against the French nation. Even fortune herself, inclining at length to the side of justice, from henceforward deserted them; for, after they had continued about eight months sole masters of the island, the English, under the command of General Codrington, returning in great force, not only compelled the French inhabitants to surrender, but actually transported eighteen hundred of them to Martinico and Hispaniola. It is true that reparation was stipulated to be made them by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697; but war again breaking out between the two nations in 1702, the French planters derived but little advantage from that clause in their favour. They had, however, in 1706, the gloomy satisfaction to behold many of the English possessions again laid waste by a French armament, which committed such ravages, that the British parliament found it necessary to distribute the sum of 103,000*l.* among the sufferers, to enable them to re-settle their plantations. Happily, this was the last exertion of national enmity and civil discord within this little community; for, at the peace of Utrecht, the island was ceded wholly to the English, and the French possessions pub-

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dioly sold for the benefit of the English government. In 1739, 80,000*l* of the money was appropriated as a marriage portion with the Princess Anne, who was betrothed to the Prince of Orange. Some few of the French planters, indeed, who consented to take the oaths, were naturalized, and permitted to retain their estates.

Such were the origin and progress of the British establishment in the Island of St. Christopher. The circumstances which attended the French invasion in the beginning of 1782, when a garrison of less than one thousand effective men (including the militia) was attacked by eight thousand of the best disciplined troops of France, supported by a fleet of thirty-two ships of war; the consequent surrender of the island, after a most vigorous and noble defence; and its restoration to Great Britain by the general peace of 1786, being within every person's recollection, need not be related at large in this work. I shall therefore conclude with the following particulars, which I presume are somewhat less familiar to the general reader, and their accuracy may be depended on.

St. Christopher lies in 17° 15' north latitude, and 63° 17' west longitude; it is about fourteen leagues in circuit, and contains 43,726 acres of land, of which about 17,000 acres are appropriated to the growth of sugar, and 4,000 to pasturage. As sugar is the only commodity

of any account that is raised, except provisions and a little cotton, it is probable, that nearly one half the whole island is unfit for cultivation. The interior part of the country consists indeed of many rugged precipices, and barren mountains. Of these, the loftiest is Mount Misery (evidently a decayed volcano) which rises 3,711 feet in perpendicular height from the sea.\* Nature, however, has made abundant amends for the sterility of the mountains, by the fertility she has bestowed upon the plains. No part of the West Indies that I have seen, possesses even the same species of soil that is found in St. Christopher's. It is in general a dark grey loam, so light and porous as to be penetrable by the slightest application of the hoe; and I conceive it to be the production of subterraneous fires, the black ferruginous pumice of naturalists, finely incorporated with a pure loam, or virgin mould. The under stratum is gravel, from eight to twelve inches deep. Clay is no where found, except at a considerable height in the mountains.

\* There is an immense crater on the top of this mountain, the bottom of which is nearly level, and supposed to contain 50 acres, of which seven are covered with water; the rest are clothed with high grass and trees, among which the mountain cabbage is very conspicuous. From the crannies or fissures of this crater still flow streams of hot water, which are strongly impregnated with sulphur, alum, and vitriolic acid.

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By what process of nature the soil which I have mentioned becomes more especially suited to the production of sugar than any other in the West Indies, it is neither within my province nor ability to explain. The circumstance, however, is unquestionable. Canes, planted in particular spots, have been known to yield 8,000 lbs. of Muscovado sugar from a single acre. One gentleman, in a favourable season, made 6,400 lbs. or four hogsheads of sixteen cwt. each *per* acre, on an average return of his whole crop. It is not however pretended, that the greater part, or even a very large proportion of the cane land, throughout the island, is equally productive. The general average produce for a series of years is 16,000 hogsheads of sixteen cwt. which, as one-half only of the whole cane land, or 8,500 acres, is annually cut (the remainder being in young canes) gives nearly two hogsheads of sixteen cwt. *per* acre for the whole of the land in ripe canes; but even this is a prodigious return, not equalled I imagine by any other sugar country in any part of the globe. In Jamaica, though some of the choicest lands may yield in favourable years two hogsheads of sixteen cwt. *per* acre; the cane land which is cut annually, taken altogether, does not yield above a fourth part as much.

I am informed, however, that the planters of

St. Christopher's are at a great expense for manure; that they never cut *ratoon* canes;\* and although there is no want in the country of springs and rivulets for the support of the inhabitants, their plantations suffer much in dry weather, as the substratum does not long retain moisture.†

This island is divided into nine parishes, and contains four towns and hamlets, viz. Basseterre (the present capital, as it was formerly that of the French, containing about 800 houses,) Sandy-Point, Old Road, and Deep Bay. Of these, the two first are ports of entry, established by law. The fortifications consist of Charles-Fort, and Brimstone-Hill, both near Sandy-Point; three batteries at Basseterre, one at Figtree Bay, another at Palmeto-Point, and some smaller ones of no great importance.

The proportion which St. Christopher's contributes with the other islands, towards an honourable provision for the Governor General, is 1000*l.* currency *per annum*; which is settled on him by the assembly immediately on his ar-

\* *Ratoon* canes are shoots from old roots, as will be fully explained hereafter.

† The woods on the mountainous part of this island harbour abundance of a small species of monkey, troops of which frequently come down to devour the canes, and do inconceivable mischief.

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rival. He has besides some perquisites ; and in time of war they are considerable.

Each island within this government has a separate council, and each of them an assembly, or house of representatives. In St. Christopher's the council should consist of ten members, but it is seldom that more than seven are present. The house of assembly is composed of twenty-four representatives, of whom fifteen make a quorum. The requisite qualification is a freehold of forty acres of land, or a house worth forty pounds a year. Of the electors, the qualification is a freehold of ten pounds *per annum*.

The Governor of this, and the other islands in the same government, is chancellor by his office, and in St. Christopher's sits alone. Attempts have been made to join some of the council with him, as in Barbadoes ; but hitherto without success, the inhabitants choosing rather to submit to the expense and delay of following the chancellor to Antigua, than suffer the inconveniency of having on the chancery bench judges, some of whom it is probable, from their situation and connections, may be interested in the event of every suit that may come before them.

In this island, as in Jamaica, the jurisdiction of both the King's Bench and Common Pleas,

centres in one superior court, wherein justice is administered by a chief justice and four puisne judges. The chief is appointed by the crown, the others by the governor in the king's name, and they all hold their commissions during pleasure. The office of chief judge is worth about 600*l. per annum*. The emoluments of the assistant judges are trifling.

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The present number of white inhabitants is computed at 4,000, and taxes are levied on 26,000 negroes; and there are about three hundred blacks and mulattoes of free condition.

As in the other British islands in the neighbourhood, all the white men from the age of sixteen to sixty are obliged to enlist in the militia, and in this island they serve without pay. They form two regiments of foot, although the whole number of effective men in each regiment seldom exceeds three hundred; but there is likewise a company of free blacks, and this, before the late war, constituted the whole of the military force within the island; the British government refusing to send them troops of any kind.

Of the wisdom of such conduct in Great Britain, the reader will be able properly to judge, when he is told, that the natural strength of this island, from the conformation and inequalities of its surface, is such, that a garrison of two thousand effective troops, properly sup-

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plied with ammunition and provisions, would in all human probability have rendered it impregnable to the formidable invasion of 1782.

With St. Christopher's surrendered also the island of Nevis; from which it is divided only by a small channel, and of which I shall now give some account.

SECTION II.

N E V I S.

THIS beautiful little spot is nothing more than a single mountain, rising like a cone in an easy ascent from the sea; the circumference of its base not exceeding eight English leagues. It is generally believed that Columbus bestowed on it the appellation of *Nieves*, or *The Snows*, from its resemblance to a mountain of the same name in Spain, the top of which is covered with snow; but it is not an improbable conjecture, that in those days a white smoke was seen to issue from the summit, which at a distance had a snow-like appearance, and that it rather derived its name from thence. That the island was produced by some volcanic explosion, there can be no doubt; for there is a hollow,

or crater, near the summit, still visible, which contains a hot spring strongly impregnated with sulphur; and sulphur is frequently found in substance, in the neighbouring gullies and cavities of the earth.

The country is well watered, and the land in general fertile, a small proportion towards the summit of the island excepted, which answers however for the growth of ground provisions, such as yams and other esculent vegetables. The soil is stony; the best is a loose black mould, on a clay. In some places, the upper stratum is a stiff clay, which requires labour, but properly divided and pulverised, repays the labour bestowed upon it. The general produce of sugar (its only staple production) is one hogshead of sixteen cwt. *per* acre from all the canes that are annually cut, which being about 4,000 acres, the return of the whole is an equal number of hogsheads, and this was the average fixed on by the French government in 1782, as a rule for regulating the taxes. As at St. Christopher's, the planters seldom cut ratoon canes.

This island, small as it is, is divided into five parishes. It contains a town called Charles-Town, the seat of government and a port of entry, and there are other two shipping places, called Indian-Castle and New-Castle. The principal fortification is at Charles-Town, and

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is called Charles Fott. The commandant is appointed by the crown, but receives a salary from the island.

The government, in the absence of the Governor-General, is administered by the president of the council. This board is composed of the president and six other members. The house of assembly consists of fifteen representatives; three for each parish.

The administration of common law is under the guidance of a chief justice, and two assistant judges, and there is an office for the registry of deeds.

The present number of white inhabitants is stated to be not to exceed six hundred, while the negroes amount to about ten thousand; a disproportion which necessarily converts all such white men as are not exempted by age or decrepitude, into a well-regulated militia, among which there is a troop consisting of fifty horse, well mounted and accoutred. English forces, on the British establishment, they have none.

The English first established themselves in this island in the year 1628, under the protection and encouragement of Sir Thomas Warner. Among the different classes of men; who sought to improve their fortunes in St. Christopher's by the patronage of that enterprising leader, it can hardly be presumed, that every individual experienced the full gratification of his hopes

and expectations. In all societies, there are many who will consider themselves unjustly overlooked and forgotten. Of the companions of Warner's earliest voyages, it is probable that some would set too high a value on their services, and of those who ventured afterwards, many would complain, on their arrival, that the best lands were pre-occupied. To soften and temper such discordancy and disquiet, by giving full employment to the turbulent and seditious, seems to have been one of the most important objects of Warner's policy. Motives of this nature induced him, without doubt, to plant a colony in Nevis at so early a period; and the wisdom and propriety of his first regulations gave strength and stability to the settlement.

What Warner began wisely, was happily completed by his immediate successor Mr. Lake, under whose administration Nevis rose to opulence and importance. "He was a wise man," says Du Tertre, "and feared the Lord." Making this island the place of his residence, it flourished beyond example. It is said that about the year 1640, it possessed four thousand whites: so powerfully are mankind invited by the advantages of a mild and equitable system of government! Will the reader pardon me, if I observe at the same time, that few situations in life could have afforded greater felicity than

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that of such a governor. Living amidst the beauties of an eternal spring, beneath a sky serene and unclouded, and in a spot inexpressively beautiful, (for it is enlivened by a variety of the most enchanting prospects in the world, in the numerous islands which surround it) but above all happy in the reflection that he conciliated the differences, administered to the necessities, and augmented the comforts of thousands of his fellow creatures, all of whom looked up to him as their common father and protector. If there be pure joy on earth, it must have existed in the bosom of such a man; while he beheld the tribute of love, gratitude, and approbation towards him in every countenance, and whose heart at the same time told him that he deserved it.

I am sorry that I must present the reader with a very different picture, in the account that I am now to give of Antigua.

 SECTION III.

A N T I G U A.

ANTIGUA is situated about twenty leagues to the eastward of St. Christopher's, and was

discovered at the same time with that island, by Columbus himself, who named it, from a church in Seville, *Santa Maria de la Antigua*. We are informed by Ferdinand Columbus, that the Indian name was *Jamaica*. It is a singular circumstance, that this word, which in the language of the larger islands signified a country *abounding in springs*, should, in the dialect of the Charaibes, have been applied to an island that has not a single spring or rivulet of fresh water in it.

This inconvenience, without doubt, as it rendered the country uninhabitable to the Charaibes, deterred for some time the European adventurers in the neighbouring islands from attempting a permanent establishment in Antigua; but nature presents few obstacles which the avarice or industry of civilized man will not endeavour to surmount. The lands were found to be fertile, and it was discovered that cisterns might be contrived to hold rain-water.* So early as 1632, a few English families took up lands there, and began the cultivation of tobacco. Among these was a son of Sir Thomas Warner, whose descendants still possess very considerable property in the island, one of them (Ashton Warner, Esquire) having been, in 1787, president of the council, and commander in chief in the absence of the governor.

* The water thus preserved is wonderfully light, pure, and wholesome.

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But the settlement was nearly strangled in its infancy. In 1666, a French armament from Martinico, co-operating with a body of Caribbes, invaded the island, and ravaged the country with fire and sword. All the negroes that could be found, were taken away; and the inhabitants, after beholding their houses and estates in flames, were plundered even to the clothes on their backs and the shoes on their feet, without regard to sex or age.

Its recovery from this calamity was owing chiefly to the enterprising spirit and extensive views of Colonel Codrington, of Barbadoes. This gentleman removing to Antigua about the year 1674, applied his knowledge in sugar-planting with such good effect and success, that others, animated by his example, and assisted by his advice and encouragement, ventured in the same line of cultivation. Mr. Codrington was some years afterwards nominated captain-general and commander-in-chief of all the leeward Caribbean islands, and, deriving from this appointment, the power of giving greater energy to his benevolent purposes, had soon the happiness of beholding the good effects of his humanity and wisdom, in the flourishing condition of the several islands under his government.

The prosperity of Antigua was manifested in its extensive population; for when, in the year 1690, General Codrington commanded on the expedition against the French inhabitants of

St. Christopher's, as hath been related in the CHAP.
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history of that island, Antigua furnished towards it no less than eight hundred effective men: a quota, which gives room to estimate the whole number of its white inhabitants at that time, at upwards of five thousand.

Mr. Codrington dying in 1698, was succeeded in his government by his son Christopher; a gentleman eminently distinguished for his attainments in polite literature; and who, treading in the same paths as his illustrious father, gave the people under his government the promise of a long continuance of felicity.* His administration, however, terminated at the end of six years; for in 1704 he was superseded (I know not on what account) by Sir William Mathews; who dying soon after his arrival, the Queen was pleased to appoint to the government of this and the neighbouring islands Daniel Park, Esq; a man whose tragical end having excited the attention of Europe, and furnished a lesson for history to perpetuate, I shall be excused for entering somewhat at large into his conduct and fortune.

* He was the author, if I mistake not, of a copy of verses prefixed to Garth's Dispensary, in which is this beautiful triplet:

I read thee over with a lover's eye:
Thou hast no faults, or I no faults can spy;
Thou art all beauty:—or all blindness I.

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Mr. Park was a native of Virginia, and was distinguished for his successes at a very early time of life. Having married a lady of fortune in America, his first exploit was to rob his wife of her money, and then desert her. With this money he came to England, and obtained a return to parliament; but gross bribery being proved against him, he was expelled the house. His next adventure was to debauch the wife of a friend, for which being prosecuted, he quitted England, and made a campaign with the army in Flanders, where he had the fortune to attract the notice, and acquire the patronage of the Duke of Marlborough.—In 1704, he attended the Duke as one of his aides-de-camp, and as such, on the event of the battle of Hochstet, having been sent by his Grace to England, with intelligence of that important victory, he was rewarded by the Queen with a purse of a thousand guineas, and her picture richly set with diamonds. The year following, the government of the Leeward Islands becoming vacant, Mr. Park, through the interest of his noble patron, was appointed to succeed Sir William Mathews therein, and he arrived at Antigua in July, 1706.

As he was a native of America, and his interest with the British administration was believed to be considerable, the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands, who were probably unac-

quainted with his private character, received him with singular respect, and the assembly of Antigua, even contrary to a royal instruction, added a thousand pounds to his yearly income, in order, as it was expressed in the vote, to relieve him from the expense of house-rent ; a provision which, I believe, has been continued ever since to his successors in the government.

The return which Mr. Park thought proper to make for this mark of their kindness, was an avowed and unrestrained violation of all decency and principle. He feared neither God nor man : and it was soon observed of him, as it had formerly been of another detestable tyrant, *that he spared no man in his anger, nor woman in his lust.* One of his first enormities was to debauch the wife of a Mr. Chester, who was factor to the royal African company, and the most considerable merchant in the island. Apprehending that the injured husband might meditate revenge, the worthy governor endeavoured to be beforehand with him, by adding the crime of murder to that of adultery ; for Chester having about this time had the misfortune to kill a person by accident, his excellency, who had raised a common soldier to the office of provost-marshal, brought him to a trial for his life ; directing his instrument, the provost-marshal, to impanel a jury of certain persons

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from whom he doubted not to obtain Chester's conviction; and the execution of this innocent and injured man would undoubtedly have followed, if the evidence in his favour had not proved too powerful to be overcome; so that the jury were compelled to pronounce his acquittal.

Another of his exploits was an attempt to rob the Codrington family of the island of Barbuda (of which they had held peaceable possession for thirty years) by calling on them to prove their title before himself and his council; a measure which gave every proprietor reason to apprehend that he had no security for his possessions but the governor's forbearance.

He declared that he would suffer no provost-marshal to act, who should not at all times summon such juries as he should direct. He changed the mode of electing members to serve in the assembly, in order to exclude persons he did not like; and not being able by this measure to procure an assembly to his wish, he refused to call them together even when the French threatened an invasion.

He entered the house of Mr. Chester, the person before mentioned, with an armed force, and seized several gentlemen (some of them the principal men of the island) who were there met for the purpose of good fellowship, on suspicion

that they were concerting measures against him-
self; most of whom he sent by his own authority
to the common jail, and kept them there with-
out bail or trial.

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By these, and a thousand other odious and intemperate proceedings, the whole country became a party against him, and dispatched an agent to England to lay their grievances before the crown, adopting, in the first instance, all moderate and legal means to procure his removal; but from the delays incident to the business, the people lost all temper, and began to consider forbearance as no longer a virtue. More than one attempt was made on the governor's life, in the last of which he was grievously, but not mortally, wounded. Unhappily the furious and exasperated state of men's minds admitted of no compromise, and the rash impetuous governor was not of a disposition to soften or conciliate, if occasion had offered.

At length, however instructions came from the crown, directing Mr. Park to resign his command to the lieutenant-governor, and return to England by the first convenient opportunity; at the same time commissioners were appointed to take examinations on the spot, concerning the complaints which had been urged against his conduct. It would have been happy if the inhabitants of Antigua had borne their success

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with moderation; but the triumphant joy which they manifested, on receipt of the Queen's orders, provoked the governor into desperation. He declared that he would continue in the government in spite of the inhabitants, and being informed, that a ship was about to sail for Europe, in which he might conveniently have embarked, he refused to leave the country. In the meanwhile, to convince the people that his firmness was unabated; and that he still considered himself in the rightful exercise of his authority, he issued a proclamation to dissolve the assembly,

Matters were now coming fast to an issue. The assembly continued sitting notwithstanding the governor's proclamation, and resolved, that having been recalled by his sovereign, his continuance in the government was usurpation and tyranny, and that it was their duty to take charge of the safety and peace of the island. On hearing of this vote, the governor secretly ordered a party of soldiers to surround them; but the assembly having obtained information of his intentions, immediately separated to provide for their personal safety. The ensuing night, and the whole of the following day, were employed in summoning the inhabitants from all parts of the island, to hasten to the capital, properly armed, to protect their representa-

tives. It was given out, however, that the governor's life was not aimed at; all that was intended was to secure his person, and send him from the island.

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On Thursday the 7th of December, 1710, early in the morning, about five hundred men appeared in arms, in the town of St. John's, where Colonel Park had been making provision for resistance in case of an attack. He had converted the government house into a garrison, and stationed in it all the regular troops that were in the island. On the approach of the inhabitants however, his courage deserted him. The sight of an injured people, coming forward as one man, with deliberate valour, to execute on his person that punishment which he must have been conscious his enormities well merited, overwhelmed him with confusion and terror. Although he must have been apprized that his adversaries had proceeded too far to retreat, he now, for the first time, when it was too late, had recourse to concession. He dispatched the provost-marshal with a message, signifying his readiness to meet the assembly at Parham, and to consent to whatever laws they should think proper to pass for the good of the country. He offered at the same time to dismiss his soldiers, provided six of the principal inhabitants would remain with him as hostages for the safety of his person. The speaker of

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the assembly, and one of the members of the council, unwilling to carry matters to the last extremity, seemed inclined to a compromise, and proposed themselves as two of the hostages required by the governor; but the general body of the people, apprehensive that further delay might be fatal to their cause, called aloud for immediate vengeance; and instantly marched forward in two divisions. One of these, led by Mr. Piggot, a member of the assembly, taking possession of an eminence that commanded the government house, attacked it with great fury. The fire was briskly returned for a considerable time, but at length the assailants broke into the house. The governor met them with firmness, and shot Piggot dead with his own hand, but received in the same moment a wound which laid him prostrate. His attendants, seeing him fall, threw down their arms, and the enraged populace, seizing the person of the wretched governor, who was still alive, tore him into a thousand pieces, and scattered his reeking limbs in the street. Besides the governor, an ensign and thirteen private soldiers, who fought in his cause, were killed outright, and a lieutenant and twenty-four privates wounded. Of the people, thirty-two were killed and wounded, besides Mr. Piggot. The governor's death instantly put an end to this bloody conflict.

Thus perished, in a general insurrection of

an insulted and indignant community, a brutal and licentious despot, than whom no state criminal was ever more deservedly punished. He was a monster in wickedness, and being placed by his situation beyond the reach of ordinary restraint, it was as lawful to cut him off by every means possible, as it would have been to shoot a wild beast that had broke its limits, and was gorging itself with human blood. "The people of England," says an eminent writer,\* "heard with astonishment of Park's untimely fate; but the public were divided in their sentiments; some looking upon his death as an act of rebellion against the crown, and others considering it as a sacrifice to liberty. The flagrancy of the perpetration, and compassion for the man, at last got the better." In the latter assertion however, the writer is clearly mistaken; for the English government, after full investigation, was so thoroughly satisfied of Mr. Park's misconduct, as to issue, much to its honour, a general pardon of all persons concerned in his death, and two of the principal actors therein were even promoted some time afterwards to seats in the council.

From this period I close my account of the civil concerns of Antigua, finding no occurrence in its subsequent history of sufficient im-

\* Universal History, vol. XLI.

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portance to detain the reader ; what remains therefore is chiefly topographical, and I hope will be found correct.

Antigua is upwards of fifty miles in circumference, and contains 59,838 acres of land, of which about 34,000 are appropriated to the growth of sugar, and pasturage annexed : its other principal staples are cotton-wool and tobacco ; to what extent of cultivation I am not informed ; and they raise in favourable years great quantities of provisions.

This island contains two different kinds of soil ; the one a black mould on a substratum of clay, which is naturally rich, and when not checked by excessive droughts, to which Antigua is particularly subject, very productive. The other is a stiff clay on a substratum of marl. It is much less fertile than the former, and abounds with an inirradicable kind of grass, in such a manner, that many estates consisting of that kind of soil, which were once very profitable, are now so impoverished and overgrown with this sort of grass, as either to be converted into pasture land, or to become entirely abandoned. Exclusive of such deserted land, and a small part of the country that is altogether unimprovable, every part of the island may be said to be under cultivation.

From the circumstances that have been related, it is difficult to furnish an average return

of the crops, which vary to so great a degree, that the quantity of sugar exported from this island in some years, is five times greater than in others; thus in 1779 were shipped 3,382 hogsheads, and 579 tierces; in 1782 the crop was 15,102 hogsheads, and 1,603 tierces; and in the years 1770, 1773, and 1778, there were no crops of any kind; all the canes being destroyed by a long continuance of dry weather, and the whole body of the negroes must have perished for want of food, if American vessels with corn and flour had been at that time, as they now are, denied admittance.\*

It seems to me on the whole, that the island has progressively decreased both in produce and white population. The last accurate returns to government were in 1774. In that year, the white inhabitants of all ages and sexes were 2,590, and the enslaved negroes, 37,808, and I believe, that 17,000 hogsheads of sugar of sixteen cwt. are reckoned a good saving crop. This, as one-half the canes only are cut annually, is about a hogshead of sugar *per* acre for each acre that is cut. The produce of 1787 will be given hereafter; and I believe it was a year more favourable to Antigua, in proportion

\* In the year 1789, there was no fall of rain for seven months, whereby there was not only no crop of sugar, but 5,000 head of horned cattle perished for want of water.

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to its extent, than to any other of the British islands in the West Indies.

Antigua is divided into six parishes and eleven districts, and contains six towns and villages. St. John's,\* (the capital) Parham, Falmouth, Willoughby Bay, Old Road, and James Fort; of which, the two first are legal ports of entry.—No island, in this part of the West Indies, can boast of so many excellent harbours. Of these, the principal are English harbour and St. John's, both well fortified; and at the former, the British government has established a royal navy-yard and arsenal, and conveniences for careening ships of war.

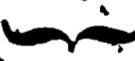
The military establishment generally consists of two regiments of infantry, and two of foot militia. There are likewise a squadron of dragoons, and a battalion of artillery, both raised in the island; and the regulars receive additional pay, as in Jamaica.

It hath been already observed, that the governor or captain-general of the leeward Charibean islands, although directed by his instructions to visit occasionally each island within his government, is generally stationary at Antigua: he is chancellor of each island by his

\* The town of Saint John was nearly destroyed by fire on the 17th of August, 1769; upwards of 260 houses being consumed; besides wharfs, cranes, &c. &c.

office, but commonly holds the court in Antigua, and in hearing and determining causes from the other islands, presides alone. In causes arising in Antigua, he is assisted by his council, after the practice of Barbadoes; and, by an act of the assembly of this island, confirmed by the crown, the president, and a certain number of the council may determine chancery causes during the absence of the governor-general. The other courts of this island are a court of king's-bench, a court of common-pleas, and a court of exchequer.

The legislature of Antigua is composed of the commander in chief, a council of twelve members, and an assembly of twenty-five; and it is very much to its honour that it presented the first example to the sister islands of a melioration of the criminal law respecting negro slaves, by giving the accused party the benefit of a trial by jury: and allowing in the case of capital convictions four days between the time of sentence and execution. And it is still more to the honour of Antigua, that its inhabitants have encouraged, in a particular manner, the laudable endeavours of certain pious men, who have undertaken, from the purest and best motives, to enlighten the minds of the negroes, and lead them into the knowledge of religious truth. In the report of the lords of the committee of council on the slave-trade, is an ac-

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count of the labours of the society known by the name of the *Unitas Fratrum*, (commonly called *Moravians*) in this truly glorious pursuit; from which it appears that their conduct in this business displays such sound judgment, breathes such a spirit of genuine christianity, and has been attended with such eminent success, as to entitle its brethren and missionaries to the most favourable reception, from every man whom the accidents of fortune have invested with power over the poor Africans; and who believes (as I hope every planter believes) that they are his fellow-creatures, and of equal importance with himself in the eyes of an all-seeing and impartial Governor of the universe. With an abridgment of that account, I shall close the subject of my present discussion.

“The church of the united brethren have, ever since the year 1732, been active in preaching the gospel to different heathen nations in many parts of the world, but not with equal success in all places. The method here described, and made use of by the missionaries of the said church, in leading the negro slaves in the West Indies to the knowledge and practice of christianity, is followed, in all points that are not local, in all the missions of the brethren.”


After many years unsuccessful labour; experience has taught them, that the plain testi-

mony concerning the death and passion of Jesus Christ the Son of God, together with its cause and happy consequences, delivered by a missionary touched with an experimental sense of it, is the surest way of enlightening the benighted minds of the negroes, in order to lead them afterwards step by step into all truth: they therefore make it a rule, never to enter into an extensive discussion of the doctrines of God's being an infinite spirit, of the holy trinity, &c. nor to seek to open their understandings in those points, until they believe in Jesus, and that the word of the cross has proved itself the power of God unto salvation, by the true conversion of their hearts. Both in the beginning and progress of the instructions, the missionaries endeavour to deliver themselves as plainly and intelligibly to the faculties of their hearers as possible; and the Lord has given his blessing even to the most unlearned, that went forth in reliance upon him, to learn the difficult languages of the negroes, so as to attain to great fluency in them: one great difficulty arises indeed from the new ideas and words necessary to express the divine truths to be introduced into them; but even this has been surmounted through God's grace.

As it is required of all believers, that they prove their faith by their works; the brethren teach, that no habit of sin, in any land or place,

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nor any prevailing custom whatever, can be admitted as a plea for a behaviour not conformable to the moral law of God, given unto all mankind. Upon the fulfilment of this, the missionaries insist every where. Every thing that is accounted decent and virtuous among christians, is inculcated into the minds of the people. Drunkenness, adultery, whoredom, sorcery, theft, anger and revenga, and all other works of the flesh, as enumerated by our Lord and his Apostles as proceeding from the heart, being plain proofs that man is either unconverted, or again fallen into heathenism and idolatry, it follows of course, that any one guilty of these things is put away from the congregation, and not re-admitted before a true and sincere repentance is apparent, and the offence done away: but it is not sufficient that the believers abstain from open scandal; their private behaviour in their families, and in every occurrence of life, must evidence a thorough change of heart and principles: indeed the believing negroes in Antigua, and in other places where the brethren have missions, are so much under the influence of their masters, and of a variety of circumstances that attend their being slaves, that it may perhaps seem more difficult to effect a change of customs and practices, and to enforce a steady christian conduct in all cases amongst them, than amongst free heathens; and

yet it must be owned, to the praise of God, that this is visible at present in many thousand converted negroes. CHAP.  
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The missionaries, however, have frequent occasion to see with sorrow, how deeply rooted the habit of sin, and the tendency to excuse it, is in the minds of the negroes; who, when unconverted, are particularly given to an unbounded gratification of every sensual lust; but on this very account it becomes the more needful to watch, and not to suffer the least deviation from the right path, to remain unnoticed in the believers. It has been before observed, that baptism is administered to none, but to such in whom a thorough conversion of heart is already perceivable. As soon as they are considered as candidates for baptism, they are subject to the discipline of the church, by which, if they offend, and private admonition and reproof have not the desired effect, they are excluded from the fellowship of the rest, though they may attend public service, and every means is still faithfully applied to bring them back. Thus a communicant, in case of an offence given, is not admitted to the Lord's supper. This discipline has, by God's blessing, had so good an effect, that many a believing negro would rather suffer the severest bodily punishment than incur it. If they confess their

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sins, and heartily repent, they are willingly, and, according to the nature of the offence, either privately, or in the presence of a part or the whole of the congregation, re-admitted to the fellowship of the church. The believing negroes are not suffered to attend any where, where the unconverted meet for the sake of feasting, dancing, gaming, &c. and the usual plea *of not entering into the sinful part of these diversions*, is never admitted, inasmuch as the least step towards vice and immorality, generally plunges them by degrees into gross sins. The hankering after the vain traditions of their forefathers, is considered as a falling off from that love to the Lord Jesus and his doctrines, which once prompted them to forsake all ungodliness, and devote themselves unto God; and if they persist in evil ways, the faithfulness due to the rest of the flock on the part of the missionaries, demands their separation, lest they seduce others.

The polygamy of the negroes has caused no small embarrassment to the missionaries. The following is a short account of the brethren's manner of treating them in this particular: When a negro man or woman applies as above described, to be baptized or received into the congregation, strict inquiry is made concerning every circumstance attending his or her situa-

tion and connexions in life. If it is found that a man has more than one wife, the question arises, how the brethren have to advise him in this particular: St. Paul says, "if any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away," 1 Cor. vii. 12; but again he says, "a bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife," 2 Tim. iii. 2. We read of no further precept in the holy scriptures concerning this subject; the brethren therefore were of opinion, that the missionaries should keep strictly to the following resolutions:

I. That they could not compel a man, who had, before his conversion, taken more than one wife, to put away one or more of them, without her or their consent.

II. But yet, that they could not appoint such a man to be a helper or servant in the church; and,

III. That a man who believeth in Christ, if he marry, should take only one wife in marriage, and that he is bound to keep himself only to that woman, till death parts them.

The instances that a man has three wives are few; all mistresses must of course be put away without exception; besides this, the mis-

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sionaries lose no opportunity of inculcating into the minds of the married people, how to walk in this state conformable to the rules laid down in holy writ, and every deviation from them is severely censured. If any baptized man leaves his wife, and takes another, and takes one or more wives besides the first, or in case he has had two, and one dies, and he should marry another, he is excluded the fellowship of the church. Neither can the brethren admit of the heathenish customs in courting a wife, but they expect, that in case a believer wish to marry, he do all things in a decent and christian manner: it is of course expected that all baptized parents educate their children in the fear of the Lord, shewing them a good example. If by a sale of negroes by auction, or in any other way, wives are torn from their husbands, or husbands from their wives, and carried off to distant islands, though the brethren do not advise, yet they cannot hinder a regular marriage with another person, especially, if a family of young children, or other circumstances, seem to render a helpmate necessary; and, as is mostly the case, no hopes remain of the former ever returning. A certificate of baptism is given to every baptized negro, that must thus leave the congregation; and there have been instances that by their godly walk and conversation in distant

parts, they have caused others to hearken to their word, and believe.

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Though all the above injunctions are of such a nature, that they not only war against their heathenish propensities, but even against what some might call excusable indulgences; yet it is a fact, that at this present time, some thousand negroes in Antigua, and other islands, submit to them with willingness.

The number of converted negro slaves under the care of the brethren, at the end of the year 1787, was

|                                                                |        |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| In Antigua, exactly . . . . .                                  | 5,465  |
| In St. Kitt's, a new mission . . .                             | 80     |
| In Barbadoes and Jamaica, about                                | 100    |
| In St. Thomas's, St. Croix, and }<br>St. Juan, about . . . . . | 10,000 |
| In Surinam, about . . . . .                                    | 400    |

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|                                                            |        |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Still living in the West Indies and }<br>Surinam . . . . . | 16,045 |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------|

as nearly as can be ascertained from the latest accounts."

## SECTION IV.

## M O N T S E R R A T.

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OF this little island, neither the extent nor the importance demands a very copious discussion. It was discovered at the same time with St. Christopher's, and derived its name from a supposed resemblance which Columbus perceived in the face of the country to a mountain of the same name near Barcelona.

The name was all that was bestowed upon it by the Spaniards. Like Nevis, it was first planted by a small colony from St. Christopher's, detached in 1632 from the adventurers under Warner. Their separation appears indeed to have been partly occasioned by local attachments and religious dissensions; which rendered their situation in St. Christopher's uneasy, being chiefly natives of Ireland, of the Romish persuasion. The same causes, however, operated to the augmentation of their numbers; for so many persons of the same country and religion adventured thither soon after the first settlement, as to create a white population which it has ever

since possessed; if it be true, as asserted by Oldmixon, that at the end of sixteen years there were in the island upwards of one thousand white families, constituting a militia of three hundred and sixty effective men.

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The civil history of this little island contains nothing very remarkable. It was invaded by a French force in 1712, and suffered so much from the depredations of that armament, that an article was inserted in the treaty of Utrecht for appointing commissioners to inquire into the damages; which, however, were not made good to the sufferers. It was again invaded, and with most of the other islands captured by the French in the late war, and restored with the rest.

Nothing therefore remains but to furnish the reader with an account of its present state in respect of cultivation, productions, and exports.

Montserrat is about three leagues in length, and as many in breadth, and is supposed to contain about thirty thousand acres of land, of which almost two-thirds are very mountainous, or very barren. The land in cultivation is appropriated nearly as follows. In sugar, six thousand acres: in cotton, provisions, and pasturage, two thousand each. None other of the tropical staples are raised. Its average crop from 1784 to 1788, were 2,737 hogsheads of sugar of sixteen hundred weight,

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III.

1,107 puncheons of rum, and 275 bales of cotton. The exports of 1787, and their value at the London market, will be seen in a table annexed to this chapter. They are produced by the labour of one thousand three hundred whites, and about ten thousand negroes.

The government is administered in this, as in the other islands, by a legislature of its own, under the captain general. The council consists of six members, and the assembly of eight, two from each of the four districts into which it is divided; and the proportion which Montserrat contributes to the salary of the captain general is 400*l. per annum*.

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## SECTION V.

### VIRGIN ISLANDS.

OF the Virgin Islands I have so few particulars to communicate, that I fear the reader will accuse me of inattention or idleness in my researches. I have, however, solicited information of those who I thought were most likely to afford it; but if my inquiries were not slighted, my expectations were not gratified. Even in a late historical account by Mr. Suckling, the chief justice of these islands, I find but

little of which I can avail myself. It furnishes no particulars concerning their extent, their cultivation, or their commerce. It is silent as to the number of their present English inhabitants. The author is even misinformed as to the origin of their present name; for he supposes that it was bestowed upon them in 1580, by Sir Francis Drake, in honour of Queen Elizabeth; but the fact is, that these islands were named Las Virgines, by Columbus himself, who discovered them in 1493, and gave them this appellation in allusion to the well-known legend in the Romish ritual of the 11,000 virgins.

The Spaniards of those days, however, thought them unworthy of further notice. A century afterwards (1596) they were visited by the Earl of Cumberland, in his way to the attack of Porto-Rico; and the historian of that voyage, whose narrative is preserved in Hakluyt's collection, calls them "a knot of little islands wholly uninhabited, sandy, barren, and craggy." The whole group may comprehend about forty islands, islets, and keys, and they are divided at present between the English, the Spaniards, and Danes. The English hold Tortola, and Virgin Gerda,\*

\* This last is likewise called Penniston, and corruptly Spanish-Town. It has two very good harbours.

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Josvan Dykes, Guana Isle, Beef and Thatch Islands, Anegada, Nichar, Prickly Pear, Camana's, Ginger, Cooper's, Salt Island, Peter's Island, and several others of little value. The Danes possess Santa Cruz,\* St. Thomas, with about twelve smaller islands dependent thereon, and St. John, which last is of importance as having the best harbour of any island to the leeward of Antigua, and the Spaniards claim Crab Island, the Green or Serpent Island, the Tropic Keys, and Great and Little Passage.

The first possessors of such of these islands as now belong to the British government, were a party of Dutch Bucaniers, who fixed themselves at Tortola about the year 1648, and built a fort there for their protection. In 1666, they were driven out by a stronger party of the same adventurers, who, calling themselves English, pretended to take possession for the crown of England; and the English monarch, if he did not commission the enterprize, made no scruple to claim the benefit of it; for Tortola and its dependencies were soon afterwards annexed to the Leeward Island government, in

\* Ste. Croix, or Santa Cruz, belonged originally to the French, and was sold by them to the Danes, in 1733, for the sum of 75,000*l*. Its inhabitants are chiefly English, and the lands being exceedingly fertile, the produce of this little island (most of which I believe is smuggled into Great Britain as the produce of Tortola) is very considerable, particularly sugar.

a commission granted by King Charles II. to Sir William Stapleton, and I believe that the English title has remained unimpeached from that time to this. CHAP.  
IV.

The Dutch had made but little progress in cultivating the country when they were expelled from Tortola; and the chief merit of its subsequent improvements was reserved for some English settlers from the little island of Anguilla, who, about a century past, embarked with their families, and settled in the Virgin Islands. Their wants were few, and their government simple and unexpensive. The deputy governor, with a council nominated from among themselves, exercised both the legislative and judicial authority, determining, in a summary manner, without a jury, all questions between subject and subject; and as to taxes, there seem to have been none laid; when money was absolutely necessary for public use, it was raised, I believe, by voluntary contribution.

Under such a system, it was impossible that the colony could attain to much importance. It wanted the advantage of English capitals; but credit is sparingly given where payment cannot easily be enforced. The inhabitants therefore, whose numbers in 1756 amounted to 1,236 whites, and 6,121 blacks, reasonably hoped to be put on the same footing with the



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sister islands, by the establishment of a perfect civil government, and constitutional courts of justice among them; but in this expectation they were not gratified until the year 1773. In that year they presented an humble petition to the captain-general of the Leeward Island government, requesting his excellency to unite with them in an application to his Majesty, for permission to elect an assembly of representatives out of the freeholders and planters, in order that such assembly, with the governor and council, might frame proper laws for their peace, welfare, and good government; *pledging themselves, in that case, to grant to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, an impost of four and a half per centum, in specie, upon all goods and commodities the growth of these islands, similar to that which was paid in the other Leeward Islands.*

Their application (thus sweetened) proved successful. It was signified to them that his Majesty, fully considering the persons, circumstances, and condition of his said Virgin Islands, and the necessity there was, from the then state of their culture and inhabitancy, that some adequate and perfect form of civil government should be established therein; “and  
“ finally trusting that his faithful subjects,  
“ in his said Virgin Islands, who should com-  
“ pose the new assembly, would, as the first

“ act of legislation, cheerfully make good the  
“ engagement of granting to his Majesty, his  
“ heirs and successors, the impost of four and a  
“ half *per centum* on all the produce of the Virgin  
“ Islands, to be raised and paid in the same  
“ manner as the four and a half *per centum* is  
“ made payable in the other *Leeward Islands*,”  
did cause his royal pleasure to be signified to the  
governor in chief, that he should issue writs in  
his Majesty’s name, for convening an assembly,  
or house of representatives, who, together with a  
council to be composed of twelve persons, to be  
appointed by the governor for that purpose,  
might frame and pass such laws as should be  
necessary for the welfare and good government  
of the said Islands.

Accordingly, on the 30th of November 1773,  
the governor in chief of the *Leeward Islands*,  
in obedience to his Majesty’s orders, issued a  
proclamation for convening an assembly or house  
of representatives of the Virgin Islands, who met  
on the 1st of February following, and very  
honourably complied with their engagement to  
the crown ; the very first act passed by them  
being the grant before mentioned of four and a  
half *per centum*, on the produce of the colony for  
ever. They afterwards passed a grant of 400*l.*  
currency *per annum*, as their proportion towards  
the salary of the governor-general.

Such was the price at which the Virgin Islands

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III

purchased the establishment of a constitutional legislature. If it be difficult to reconcile this precedent with the doctrines which have been maintained in the case of Grenada, it may perhaps be said (as I believe the fact was) that the inhabitants of these islands were unapprised of the rights which they inherited as British subjects, when they voluntarily proposed to subject themselves and their posterity to the tax in question for permission to enjoy them; and their posterity may perhaps dispute the authority which their forefathers exercised on this occasion.

The chief, and almost the only staple productions of these islands are sugar and cotton. Of the quantity of land appropriated to the cultivation of either I have no account, nor can I venture even to guess at the quantity of unimproved land which may yet be brought into cultivation: Tortola itself is not more than fifteen miles long and six miles broad; the exports of 1787 will presently be given, and I have only to add that they were raised by the labour of about one thousand two hundred whites, and nine thousand blacks.

Having so far treated of the several islands which constitute what is called the Leeward Island Government, as they stand distinct

from each other, I close my account, as in former cases, with an authentic Table of their Returns for 1787; after which, I shall, as proposed, offer a few observations on circumstances which are common to them all.

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An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, &c. that have  
Antigua, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands, between the 5th January,  
Cargoes, and the Value thereof.

## ST. CHRIS.

| Whither bound.                   | SHIPPING. |         |       | Sugar.  |          | Rum.     |
|----------------------------------|-----------|---------|-------|---------|----------|----------|
|                                  | No.       | Tonnage | Men.  | Cwt.    | qr. lbs. | Gallons. |
| To Great Britain . . . .         | 53        | 11,992  | 764   | 231,397 | 2 12     | 78,299   |
| Ireland . . . . .                | 3         | 350     | 30    | 3,099   | - -      | 8,500    |
| American States . . . .          | 21        | 2,457   | 140   | 386     | - -      | 167,740  |
| British Colonies in America . .  | 19        | 1,201   | 110   | 646     | - -      | 65,000   |
| Foreign West Indies . . .        | 104       | 7,155   | 546   | -       | - -      | 15,070   |
| Total from St. Christopher's . . | 200       | 23,155  | 1,590 | 235,528 | 2 12     | 334,609  |

## AN.

|                                 |     |        |       |         |      |         |
|---------------------------------|-----|--------|-------|---------|------|---------|
| To Great Britain . . . .        | 65  | 13,806 | 901   | 254,575 | 1 18 | 128,936 |
| Ireland . . . . .               | 16  | 1,909  | 139   | 22,295  | - -  | 97,400  |
| American States . . . .         | 71  | 8,281  | 552   | 6,779   | - -  | 375,150 |
| British Colonies in America . . | 34  | 2,127  | 177   | 844     | - -  | 109,320 |
| Foreign West Indies . . .       | 47  | 2,510  | 259   | 33      | - -  | 5,740   |
| Total from Antigua . . . .      | 233 | 28,663 | 2,048 | 284,526 | 1 18 | 716,546 |

## MONTSERRAT

|                                 |     |        |     |         |      |         |
|---------------------------------|-----|--------|-----|---------|------|---------|
| To Great Britain . . . .        | 23  | 5,371  | 341 | 108,325 | - 21 | 4,406   |
| American States . . . .         | 20  | 1,850  | 138 | 1,895   | - -  | 122,710 |
| British Colonies in America . . | 7   | 379    | 40  | 64      | - -  | 21,300  |
| Foreign West Indies . . .       | 71  | 3,085  | 377 | -       | - -  | 140,660 |
| Africa . . . . .                | 1   | 102    | 8   | -       | - -  | -       |
| Total from Montserrat and Nevis | 122 | 10,787 | 904 | 110,284 | - 21 | 289,076 |

## VIRGIN

|                                   |     |        |       |         |     |           |
|-----------------------------------|-----|--------|-------|---------|-----|-----------|
| To Great Britain . . . .          | 25  | 5,137  | 344   | 78,749  | 1 6 | 517       |
| American States . . . .           | 3   | 572    | 21    | 91      | - - | 13,900    |
| British Colonies in America . .   | 4   | 226    | 20    | 363     | - - | 7,000     |
| Foreign West Indies . . .         | 8   | 581    | 51    | -       | - - | -         |
| Total from the Virgin Islands . . | 40  | 6,516  | 436   | 79,203  | 1 6 | 21,417    |
| GRAND TOTAL . . . .               | 595 | 69,121 | 4,978 | 709,542 | 2 1 | 1,361,648 |

WEST INDIES.

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cleared outwards from the Islands of St. Christopher's, Montserrat, 1787, and the 5th January 1788; together with an Account of their

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IV.

-TOPHER'S.

| Molas.<br>scs. | Indigo. | Cotton. | Dying Woods,<br>in Value | Miscellaneous<br>Articles in<br>Value. | TOTAL.       |
|----------------|---------|---------|--------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------|
| Galls.         | lbs.    | lbs.    | L. s. d.                 | L. s. d.                               | L. s. d.     |
| 8,154          | 318     | 484,640 | 5,824 1 6                | 33,195 16 10                           | 480,178 15 5 |
| -              | -       | -       | - - -                    | 20 10 -                                | 6,037 6 -    |
| -              | -       | -       | - - -                    | 186 10 -                               | 15,512 15 -  |
| -              | -       | -       | - - -                    | 19 - -                                 | 6,788 10 -   |
| -              | -       | -       | 165 - -                  | 15 1 6                                 | 1,498 14 -   |
| 8,154          | 318     | 484,640 | 5,989 1 6                | 33,456 19 4                            | 510,014 - 5  |

-TIGUA.

|       |    |         |           |             |              |
|-------|----|---------|-----------|-------------|--------------|
| 3,510 | 26 | 131,010 | 1,712 6 6 | 46,466 18 3 | 484,483 19 6 |
| -     | -  | 29,500  | 2,400 - - | 43 - -      | 50,764 16 8  |
| 1,700 | -  | -       | - - -     | 407 5 -     | 44,679 19 2  |
| 700   | -  | -       | - - -     | 14 7 -      | 11,031 15 4  |
| -     | -  | -       | - - -     | 1,075 - -   | 1,632 5 -    |
| 5,910 | 26 | 160,510 | 4,142 0 6 | 48,006 10 3 | 592,596 15 8 |

AND NEVIS.

|       |     |        |         |           |               |
|-------|-----|--------|---------|-----------|---------------|
| 1,313 | 140 | 91,972 | 352 7 6 | 1,162 3 2 | 185,709 10 11 |
| -     | -   | -      | - - -   | 70 10 -   | 13,981 12 6   |
| -     | -   | 500    | - - -   | 41 6 3    | 2,053 14 3    |
| -     | -   | -      | - - -   | 89 4 -    | 12,596 19 -   |
| 1,313 | 140 | 92,472 | 352 7 6 | 1,363 3 5 | 214,141 16 8  |

ISLANDS.

|        |     |           |             |             |               |
|--------|-----|-----------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| 2,011  | -   | 287,577   | 6,561 2 6   | 2,313 18 5  | 164,128 17 6  |
| -      | -   | 1,500     | - - -       | 6 4 -       | 1,499 9 -     |
| -      | -   | -         | - - -       | 10 5 -      | 1,230 15 -    |
| -      | -   | -         | 90 - -      | 10 11 -     | 110 11 -      |
| 2,011  | -   | 289,077   | 6,651 2 6   | 2,340 18 5  | 166,999 12 6  |
| 17,388 | 484 | 1,026,699 | 17,134 18 - | 85,147 11 5 | 1,483,712 5 3 |

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In surveying these islands collectively, the circumstance that first presents itself to notice is the burthen of the four and a half *per centum* on their exported produce, to which they are all subject equally with Barbadoes, and which, though granted by their own assemblies, was in most other cases, as well as the Virgin Islands, the price of a constitutional legislature, and a communication of the common privileges of British subjects.

It would without doubt be satisfactory to the reader to be furnished with an account of the produce of this duty, and the particulars of its disposal ; but no such information, to my knowledge, has of late years been given to the public. The last return that I am possessed of, is dated so long ago as the year 1735. From thence it appears, that the whole money collected on this account, both in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, in twenty-one years, (from Christmas 1713 to Christmas 1734) amounted to 326,529*l.* 2*s.* 3*½d.* sterling, of which it is shameful to relate that no more than 140,032*l.* 13*s.* 5*½d.* was paid into the British Exchequer ; upwards of 80,000*l.* having been retained in

the islands for the charges of collecting, and 105,000*l.* more, expended in Great Britain in the payment of freight, duties, commissions, fees of office, and other claims and deductions.\*

From the net money paid into the exchequer the Governor General of these islands receives a salary of 1,200*l.* sterling, exclusive of the several sums granted him by the colonial assemblies,† and I believe that salaries are allowed from the same fund to the Lieutenant General, and the several Lieutenant Governors. I have been informed too, that the Governors of the Bahama and Bermudas Islands are likewise paid out of this duty. The balance which remains, after these and some other deductions are made, is wholly at the king's disposal.

But it is impossible not to observe, that almost all the islands within this government, as well as Barbadoes, have been, for many years past, progressively on the decline: and it is therefore probable that the present net produce

\* Some years after this, a new mode of collecting the duties was, I believe, adopted, which rendered the tax more productive to government.

† These grants are as follow: Antigua and St. Christopher's 1,000*l.* currency each. Nevis 400*l.* Montserrat 400*l.* Virgin Islands 400*l.* The usual rate of exchange is 165 per cent. These sums therefore, added to 1,200*l.* sterling, paid out of the Exchequer, make his whole salary 2,000*l.* sterling per annum.

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of this duty is not more than sufficient to defray the several incumbrances with which it is loaded. The negroes indeed have been kept up, and even augmented, by purchase, because, as the lands have become impoverished, they have required a greater expense of labour to make them any way productive; but as the returns have not increased in the same degree, nothing could have saved the planters from ruin, but the advanced price of sugar in the markets of Europe.

It appears from authentic accounts laid before parliament, that the import of sugar into Great Britain from all the British West Indies (Jamaica excepted) has decreased, in the course of twenty years from 3,762,804 cwt. to 2,563,228 cwt.\* The difference in value, at a medium price, cannot be less than 400,000*l.* sterling, and it will be found to have fallen chiefly on those islands which are subject to the duty in question; to the effects of which, therefore, the deficiency must be chiefly attributed; for being laid, not on the land, but on the produce of the land, it operates as a tax on industry, and a penalty which falls heaviest on the man who contributes most to augment the wealth, commerce, navigation, and revenues

\* Being the average of two periods, the first from 1772 to 1775, the second from 1788 to 1792.

of the mother-country. It is considered by the planters as equal to ten *per cent.* on the net produce of their estates for ever. Under such a burthen, which, while it oppresses the colonies, yields a profit of no great consideration to the crown, they have been unable to stand a competition with the British planters in the other islands, and have been depressed still more by the rapid growth and extensive opulence of the French colonies in their neighbourhood. Thus a check has been given to the spirit of improvement, and much of that land, which though somewhat impoverished by long cultivation, would still, with the aid of manure, contribute greatly to the general returns, is abandoned, because the produce of the poorest soil is taxed as high as that of the most fertile.

To the loss arising from a decrease of produce, accompanied with an increase of contingent expenses, must be added the ruinous effects of capture in the late American war. The damages sustained in St. Christopher's alone, by *De Grasse's* invasion in 1782, from the destruction of negroes and cattle, and the burning of the canes, were estimated at 160,000*l.* sterling, which sum was made up to the sufferers by a poll-tax on the slaves, of no less than forty shillings. The annual taxes for defraying the current charges of their internal governments, in all the islands, are also exceedingly

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burthensome ; besides parish taxes for the repair of the roads, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor.

But, under all these, and the other discouragements which are felt by the proprietors, the wealth which still flows from these little dependencies into the mother-country, must fill every reflecting mind with surprise and admiration. An extent of cultivated territory, not equal to one-tenth part of the county of Essex, adding yearly one million and a half to the national income, is a circumstance that demonstrates beyond all abstract reasoning the vast importance to Great Britain of having sugar islands of her own. At the same time, it is both amusing and instructive to consider how little the present returns from these islands are answerable to the hopes and expectations of their first European possessors ; or rather, it affords an animated illustration of the wisdom of Providence, which frequently renders the follies and weaknesses of man productive of good. The first English adventurers were influenced wholly by the hopes of opening a golden fountain similar to that which was flowing from Peru and Mexico into Spain. The nation was told of countries where the mountains were composed of diamonds, and the cities built wholly of ingots of gold. Such were the dreams of Cabot, Frobisher, and Gil-

bert, and it is a lamentable display of the power of avarice on the human mind, to behold the sagacious and learned Raleigh bewildered in the same folly! Experience has at length corrected this phrenzy, and Europe is now wise enough to acknowledge that gold and silver have only an artificial and relative value; that industry alone is real wealth, and that agriculture and commerce are the great sources of national prosperity.

The produce of these islands however, though of such value to the mother-country, is raised at an expense to the cultivator, which perhaps is not equalled in any other pursuit, in any country of the globe. It is an expense too, that is permanent and certain; while the returns are more variable and fluctuating than any other; owing to calamities, to which these countries are exposed, both from the hands of God and man; and it is mournful to add, that the selfish or mistaken policy of man is sometimes more destructive than even the anger of Omnipotence!

At the time that I write this (1791), the humanity of the British nation is tremblingly alive to the real or fictitious distresses of the African labourers in these and the other islands of the West Indies: and the holders and employers of those people seem to be marked out to the public indignation for proscription and ruin. So strong and universal a sympathy allows no room

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for the sober exercise of reason, or it would be remembered, that the condition of that unfortunate race must depend greatly on the condition and circumstances of their owners. Oppression towards the principal, will be felt with double force by his dependants, and the blow that wounds the master will exterminate the slave.

The propriety of these remarks will be seen in subsequent parts of my work, when I come in course to treat of the slave trade and slavery; and to consider the commercial system of Great Britain towards her West Indian dependencies, of which I have now completed the catalogue. Here then I might close the third book of my history; but it has probably occurred to the reader, that I have omitted the two governments of *Bahama* and *Bermudas*;\* to which indeed it was my intention, when I began my work, to appropriate a distinct chapter. An examination of my materials has induced me to alter my purpose; finding myself possessed of scarce any memorials concerning the civil history of those islands, that are not given in the numerous geographical treatises with which the shelves of the booksellers are loaded. Of the

\* I have also passed over unnoticed the small islands of Anguilla and Barbuda, as being of too little importance to merit particular description. The former belongs to the Leeward Island government; the latter is the private property of the Codrington family.

*present state of the Bahama islands, I need not be ashamed to acknowledge my ignorance, inasmuch as even the lords of the committee of council for the affairs of trade and plantations were unable to obtain satisfactory information concerning it. To their lordships' inquiries, in 1789, as to the extent of territory in those islands,—the quantity of land in cultivation,—the number of white inhabitants,—productions and exports, &c. the only answer that could be obtained from the governor was this, that it was at that time impossible to ascertain any of those particulars.* It appears however from the testimony of other persons, that these islands in general are rocky and barren; that the only article cultivated for exportation is cotton, of which the medium export is fifteen hundred bags of two cwt.; that the inhabitants (who in 1773 consisted of two thousand and fifty-two whites, and two thousand two hundred and forty-one blacks) have been of late years considerably augmented by emigrants from North America; but of their present numbers no precise account is given.\*

\* The Bahama islands, comprehending those which either from their smallness, the barrenness of the soil, or the want of water, are uninhabited, are some hundreds in number. They are situated between the 22d and 23d degrees of north latitude. The principal of them are Providence (twenty-seven miles long and eleven broad), Bahama, Abaco, Harbour Island, Eluthera, Exuma, St. Salvadore, Long

Concerning Bermudas, Governor Brown is more explicit. From his answers to their Lordships' queries, it appears that they contain from twelve to thirteen thousand acres of very poor land, of which nine parts in ten are either uncultivated, or reserved in woods for the supplying of timber for building small ships, sloops, and shallops, for sale; this being in truth the principal occupation and employment of the inhabitants; and the vessels which they furnish, being built of cedar, are light, buoyant, and unexpensive.

Of the land in cultivation, no part was appropriated to any other purpose than that of raising Indian corn, and esculent roots and vegetables (of which a considerable supply is sent to the West Indian Islands) until the year 1785, when the growth of cotton was attempted, but with no great success, there not being at present more than two hundred acres applied in this line of culture.

The number of white people of all ages in Bermudas is five thousand four hundred and sixty-two; of blacks four thousand nine hundred and nineteen.\*

Island, Andros, Bimini, &c. The seat of government is at the town of Nassau in Providence. Vid. vol. i. p. 7.

\* It were an act of great injustice to the inhabitants of Bermudas, to omit the very honourable testimony which Governor Brown has transmitted to government, concerning the treatment of their negro slaves. " Nothing (he

Thus it appears that the lands become less fertile as we recede from the tropics, and were there not, as there certainly is, an unaccountable propensity in the greater part of mankind, to under-rate what they have in actual possession, it would require but little effort to convince the public of the vast importance of our West Indian dependencies; of which the progressive growth has now been traced from the first settlement. What remains is to convey that conviction to the English reader. This then, after taking a cursory survey for the gratification of curiosity, of the present inhabitants and the system of agriculture, I shall endeavour to accomplish in the next volume.

observes) can better shew the state of slavery in Bermudas than the behaviour of the blacks in the late war. There were at one time between fifteen and twenty privateers fitted out from hence, which were partly manned by negro slaves, who behaved both as sailors and marines irreproachably; and whenever they were captured, always returned, if it was in their power. There were several instances wherein they had been condemned with the vessel and sold, and afterwards found means to escape; and through many difficulties and hardships returned to their masters' service. In the ship *Regulator*, a privateer, there were seventy slaves. She was taken and carried into Boston. Sixty of them returned in a flag of truce directly to Bermudas. Nine others returned by the way of New York. One only was missing, who died in the cruize, or in captivity."—*Report of the Privy Council on the Slave Trade. Part III.*

## APPENDIX

Since the Publication of the former Editions of this Work, the

*An ACCOUNT of the Duty of Four and a Half per Centum, arising  
1795, and 1796; with the Amount of the Charges and Payments to  
Exchequer by the Receiver General of the Customs.*

| Years. | Gross Receipt<br>by the<br>Husband<br>arising from<br>Produce<br>consigned to<br>him. |    |    | Receipt<br>in the<br>Plantations<br>in lieu of<br>Produce. |    |    | Total<br>Receipt. |    |     | Charges paid                   |    |    |            |    |    |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|-------------------|----|-----|--------------------------------|----|----|------------|----|----|
|        |                                                                                       |    |    |                                                            |    |    |                   |    |     | Duties,<br>Freight,<br>&c. &c. |    |    | Annuities. |    |    |
|        | L.                                                                                    | s. | d. | L.                                                         | s. | d. | L.                | s. | d.  | L.                             | s. | d. | L.         | s. | d. |
| 1794   | 70,230                                                                                | 1  | 2  | 7,480                                                      | 0  | 9½ | 77,710            | 1  | 11½ | 27,979                         | 8  | 9  | 1,586      | 0  | 1  |
| 1795   | 62,100                                                                                | 6  | 0  | 6,921                                                      | 16 | 4  | 69,722            | 2  | 4   | 18,956                         | 18 | 4  | 6,200      | 0  | 0  |
| 1796   | 57,665                                                                                | 1  | 9  | 14,907                                                     | 12 | 8  | 72,573            | 14 | 5   | 17,010                         | 15 | 3  | 4,500      | 0  | 0  |
| Total  | 190,695                                                                               | 8  | 11 | 29,309                                                     | 9  | 9½ | 220,004           | 18 | 8½  | 63,947                         | 2  | 4  | 12,286     | 0  | 1  |

*Notes* --The Difference between the Net Proceeds and the Payments arises  
remitted from the West Indies not having been paid within

Custom House, London,  
17th March, 1798.

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following Paper has been laid before the House of Commons.

*in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, in America, for the Years 1794;  
which it is liable, the Net Proceeds thereof, with the Payments into the*

| by the Husband.                           |                                                    |                                        | Total<br>of<br>Charges. | Net<br>Proceeds. | Payments<br>by<br>Receiver General<br>into the<br>Exchequer. |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| Salaries<br>to<br>Plantation<br>Officers. | Charges of<br>Management<br>in the<br>Plantations. | Payments<br>by<br>Receiver<br>General. |                         |                  |                                                              |
| L. s. d.                                  | L. s. d.                                           | L.                                     | L. s. d.                | L. s. d.         | L. s. d.                                                     |
| 1,792 15 10                               | 4,841 5 1                                          | 380                                    | 36,979 9 9              | 41,130 12 2½     | 43,881 15 4½                                                 |
| 1,736 16 7                                | 4,619 2 11½                                        | 380                                    | 31,942 17 10½           | 27,779 4 5½      | 34,176 3 10½                                                 |
| 899 3 1                                   | 4,747 1 4½                                         | 380                                    | 27,536 19 8½            | 45,035 14 8½     | 39,032 3 1½                                                  |
| 4,478 15 6                                | 14,207 9 5½                                        | 1,140                                  | 96,059 7 4½             | 123,945 12 4     | 117,099 7 4½                                                 |

either from Moneys having been remitted due on former Years, or from Bills  
the Year, as was particularly the Case in the Year 1796.

J. Milk,  
for the Rec. General.  
Thos. Porter,  
pro Compt. General.  
Jas. Newey,  
Inspector and Exam. of Planta. Collec. Accta.  
Wm Lawless,  
Acting Husband of the Duty of 4½ per Cent.  
P. Gregory,  
Compt. of Do.

An ACCOUNT of the several Charges upon the FUND, arising by the Duties of Four Pounds and One Half Pound *per Centum*, during the Years 1794, 1795, and 1796, paid at the Exchequer.

| SALARIES and PENSIONS<br>paid at the Exchequer.                                                                                                                 | 1794.      | 1795.       | 1796.       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
|                                                                                                                                                                 | L. s. d.   | L. s. d.    | L. s. d.    |
| Governors of Barbadoes . . . . .                                                                                                                                | 2,000 0 0  | 2,000 0 0   | 2,000 0 0   |
| Bahama Islands . . . . .                                                                                                                                        | 700 0 0    | 700 0 0     | 700 0 0     |
| Bermuda . . . . .                                                                                                                                               | 750 0 0    | 750 0 0     | 750 0 0     |
| Leeward Islands . . . . .                                                                                                                                       | 1,200 0 0  | 1,200 0 0   | 1,200 0 0   |
| Tobago . . . . .                                                                                                                                                | 1,300 0 0  | 1,300 0 0   | 1,300 0 0   |
| Grenada . . . . .                                                                                                                                               | 1,364 0 0  | 1,364 0 0   | 1,364 0 0   |
| Dominica . . . . .                                                                                                                                              | 1,300 0 0  | 1,300 0 0   | 1,300 0 0   |
| St. Vincent's . . . . .                                                                                                                                         | 1,300 0 0  | 1,300 0 0   | 1,300 0 0   |
| Lieut. Governors of Leeward Islands . . . . .                                                                                                                   | 300 0 0    | 300 0 0     | 300 0 0     |
| Tortola . . . . .                                                                                                                                               | 200 0 0    | 200 0 0     | 200 0 0     |
| Antigua . . . . .                                                                                                                                               | 200 0 0    | 200 0 0     | 200 0 0     |
| Nevis . . . . .                                                                                                                                                 | 300 0 0    | 300 0 0     | 300 0 0     |
| Montserrat . . . . .                                                                                                                                            | 200 0 0    | 200 0 0     | 200 0 0     |
| St. Kitt's . . . . .                                                                                                                                            | 200 0 0    | 200 0 0     | 200 0 0     |
| Grenada . . . . .                                                                                                                                               | 600 0 0    | 600 0 0     | 600 0 0     |
| Dominica . . . . .                                                                                                                                              | 400 0 0    | 400 0 0     | 400 0 0     |
| Agents of Grenada . . . . .                                                                                                                                     | 200 0 0    | 200 0 0     | 200 0 0     |
| Turks Island . . . . .                                                                                                                                          | 100 0 0    | 100 0 0     | 100 0 0     |
| Auditor General of Plantations . . . . .                                                                                                                        | 250 0 0    | 250 0 0     | 250 0 0     |
| Chief Justice of Virgin Islands . . . . .                                                                                                                       | 200 0 0    | 200 0 0     | 200 0 0     |
| Governor of the Bahama Islands to<br>make up the Deficiencies of his Fees<br>at \$004. per Annum . . . . .                                                      | 328 4 1    | 244 17 10   | 208 8 6     |
| Governor of Barbadoes for his Services . . . . .                                                                                                                | 1,500 0 0  |             |             |
| Governor of Martinique for his Outfit . . . . .                                                                                                                 | —          | 1,500 0 0   |             |
| Do. . . . . his Salary . . . . .                                                                                                                                | —          | 1,922 4 5½  | 1,977 15 6½ |
| Countess Dowager of Chatham, John<br>Earl of Chatham, and the Right<br>Honourable William Pitt, during<br>their Lives severally and succes-<br>sively . . . . . | 3,000 0 0  | 3,000 0 0   | 3,000 0 0   |
| Representatives of the Earl of Kinnoul<br>(Perpetuity) . . . . .                                                                                                | 1,000 0 0  | 1,000 0 0   | 1,000 0 0   |
| Carried forward . . . . . L.                                                                                                                                    | 18,892 4 1 | 20,731 2 3½ | 19,250 4 0½ |

(continued)

| SALARIES and PENSIONS<br>paid at the Exchequer.                                                                                     |                                                                              | 1794.  |    |    | 1795.  |    |     | 1796.   |    |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----|----|--------|----|-----|---------|----|----|
|                                                                                                                                     |                                                                              | L.     | s. | d. | L.     | s. | d.  | L.      | s. | d. |
| Brought forward                                                                                                                     | L.                                                                           | 18,892 | 4  | 1  | 20,731 | 2  | 3½  | 19,250  | 4  | 0½ |
| Henry Strachey, Esq. late Secretary to<br>the Commission for restoring Peace in<br>North America, during Life                       |                                                                              | 587    | 0  | 0  | 587    | 0  | 0   | 587     | 0  | 0  |
| Henry Ellis, Esq. late Governor of<br>Georgia and Nova Scotia, during<br>Pleasure                                                   |                                                                              | 300    | 0  | 0  | 300    | 0  | 0   | 300     | 0  | 0  |
| Mary Elliot, Widow of Grey Elliot, Esq.<br>late additional Clerk in Ordinary of<br>the Office of Trade and Foreign Plan-<br>tations |                                                                              | 100    | 0  | 0  | 100    | 0  | 0   | 100     | 0  | 0  |
| Susannah Monckton, Widow of the<br>Late General Monckton                                                                            | Do                                                                           | 100    | 0  | 0  | 100    | 0  | 0   | 100     | 0  | 0  |
| Peter Livius, Esq. formerly Chief Jus-<br>tice of Canada                                                                            |                                                                              | 750    | 0  | 0  | 222    | 5  | 10½ | Ceased. |    |    |
| Josiah Henry Martin                                                                                                                 | Children of the<br>late Josiah Martin,<br>Esq. Governor of<br>North Carolina | 150    | 0  | 0  | 150    | 0  | 0   | 150     | 0  | 0  |
| Mary Martin                                                                                                                         |                                                                              | 50     | 0  | 0  | 50     | 0  | 0   | 50      | 0  | 0  |
| Sarah Martin                                                                                                                        |                                                                              | 50     | 0  | 0  | 50     | 0  | 0   | 50      | 0  | 0  |
| Alice Martin                                                                                                                        |                                                                              | 50     | 0  | 0  | 50     | 0  | 0   | 50      | 0  | 0  |
| Henry Pelham, Esq. late a Commissioner<br>of Customs                                                                                |                                                                              | 761    | 0  | 0  | 761    | 0  | 0   | 761     | 0  | 0  |
| Fredeswed Savory                                                                                                                    | Children of<br>George Bru-<br>yere, Esq.<br>late Gov. of<br>Bermuda          | 40     | 0  | 0  | 40     | 0  | 0   | 40      | 0  | 0  |
| Charlotte Todd                                                                                                                      |                                                                              | 30     | 0  | 0  | 30     | 0  | 0   | 30      | 0  | 0  |
| Francis Tucker                                                                                                                      |                                                                              | 30     | 0  | 0  | 30     | 0  | 0   | 30      | 0  | 0  |
| James Craufurd, Esq. late Governor of<br>Bermuda Islands                                                                            |                                                                              | —      | —  | —  | —      | —  | —   | 407     | 10 | 0  |
| Henry Charles Selwyn, Esq. Lieut. Gov.<br>of Montserrat                                                                             |                                                                              | —      | —  | —  | —      | —  | —   | 100     | 0  | 0  |
|                                                                                                                                     |                                                                              | 21,890 | 4  | 1  | 23,201 | 8  | 2   | 22,005  | 14 | 0½ |

*Memorandum.*—On the 24th Day of February, 1796, the Sum of L. 40,000 was directed to be issued out of the 4½ per Cent. towards defraying the Charges and Expenses of His Majesty's Civil Government.

*George Rose.*

Treasury Chambers, Whitehall,  
27th April, 1796.

## APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

No. 2.

*Observations on the Disposition, Character, Manners, and Habits of Life, of the Maroon Negroes of the Island of Jamaica; and a Detail of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the late War between those People and the White Inhabitants: first published separately in 1796.*

## SECTION I.

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JAMAICA, as we have seen, was conquered from the Spaniards, during the protectorate of Cromwell, in the year 1655, by an armament under the command of Admiral Penn and General Venables. The Spanish inhabitants are said to have possessed, before the attack, about 1500 enslaved Africans, most of whom, on the surrender of their masters, retreated to the mountains, from whence they made frequent excursions to harass the English. Major-general Sedgewick, one of the British officers, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe (1656) predicts, that these blacks would prove a thorn in the sides of the English. He adds, that they gave no quarter to his men, but destroyed them whenever they found opportunity; scarce a week passing without their murdering one or more of them; and as the soldiers became more confident and careless, the negroes grew more enterprising and bloody-minded. "Having no moral sense," continues he, "and

“ not understanding what the laws and customs of ci-  
 “ vil nations mean, we know not how to capitulate or  
 “ treat with any of them. But be assured they must  
 “ either be destroyed, or brought in, upon some terms  
 “ or other; or else they will prove a great discourage-  
 “ ment to the settling the country.” What he fore-  
 told soon came to pass. At the latter part of the  
 same year (1656) the army gained some trifling suc-  
 cess against them; but this was immediately after-  
 wards severely retaliated by the slaughter of forty  
 soldiers, cut off as they were carelessly rambling from  
 their quarters. A detachment was immediately sent  
 in pursuit of the enemy, which came up with and  
 killed seven or eight of them; but they still found  
 means to hold out, until being hard pressed the year  
 following by Colonel D’Oyley, who, by his final over-  
 throw of the Spaniards, had taken from them all hope  
 of future succour from their ancient masters, they be-  
 came very much streightened for want of provisions  
 and ammunition. The main body, under the com-  
 mand of a negro named *Juan de Belas* (whose place  
 of retreat in the parish of Clarendon still retains his  
 name) at length solicited for peace, and surrendered  
 to the English on terms of pardon and freedom. A  
 large party, however, (who had now acquired the name  
 of *Maroons*\*) remained in their retreats within the

\* The word signifies among the Spanish Americans, according to Mr. Long, *Hog-hunters*: the woods abounding with the wild boar, and the pursuit of them constituting the chief employment of fugitive negroes. *Marréno* is the Spanish word for a young pig. The following is the derivation, however, given in the *Encyclopédie*, article *Maron*: “ On appelle *marons*, dans les isles Françaises les nègres fugitifs. Ce terme vient du mot Espagnol *Simaron* qui signifie un Singe. Les Espagnols crurent ne devoir pas faire plus d’honneur à leurs malheureux esclaves fugitifs, que de les appeller singes, parcequ’ils se retiroient comme ces animaux aux fonds des bois et n’en sortoient que pour cueillir des fruits qui se trouvoient dans les lieux les plus voisins de leur retrait.” The reader will accept which of these derivations he likes best.

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mountains; where they not only augmented their numbers by natural increase, but, after the island became thicker sown with plantations, they were frequently reinforced by fugitive slaves. At length they grew confident enough of their force to undertake descents upon their interior planters, many of whom they murdered, from time to time, without the least provocation; and by their barbarities and outrages intimidated the whites from venturing to any considerable distance from the sea-coast.

In 1668 the Lieutenant-governor, Sir Charles Lyttelton, and his council, issued a proclamation, offering a full pardon, twenty acres of land, and freedom from all manner of slavery, to each of them who should surrender. But I do not find that any of them were inclined to accept the terms offered; or quit their savage way of life. On the contrary, they were better pleased with the more ample range they possessed in the woods, where their hunting grounds were not yet encroached upon by settlements. They took effectual care, indeed, that no settlement should be established near them; for they butchered every white family that ventured to seat itself any considerable distance inland. When the governor perceived that the proclamation wrought no effect, Juan de Bolas, who was now made Colonel of the Black Regiment, was sent to endeavour their reduction; but in the prosecution of this service he fell into an ambuscade, and was cut to pieces. In March, 1664, Captain Colbeck, of the white militia, was employed for the same purpose. He went by sea to the north side; and, having gained some advantages over the Maroons, he returned with one who pretended to treat for the rest. This embassy, however, was only calculated to amuse the whites, and gain some respite;

for the Maroons no sooner found themselves in a condition to act, and the white inhabitants lulled into security, than they began to renew hostilities, murdering, as before, every white person, without distinction of sex or age, who came within their reach.

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In this way, they continued to distress the island for upwards of forty years, during which time forty-four acts of Assembly were passed, and at least \$40,000*l.* expended for their suppression. In 1730, they were grown so formidable, under a very able general, named Cudjoe, that it was found expedient to strengthen the colony against them by two regiments of regular troops, which were afterwards formed into independent companies, and employed, with other hired parties, and the whole body of militia, in their reduction. In the year 1734, Captain Stoddart, who commanded one of these parties, projected, and executed with great success, an attack of the Maroon windward town, called Nanny, situate on one of the highest mountains in the island. Having provided some portable swivel guns, he silently approached, and reached within a small distance of their quarters undiscovered. After halting for some time, he began to ascend by the only path leading to their town. He found it steep, rocky, and difficult, and not wide enough to admit the passage of two persons abreast. However, he surmounted these obstacles; and having gained a small eminence, commanding the huts in which the negroes were asleep, he fixed his little train of artillery to the best advantage, and fired upon them so briskly, that many were slain in their habitations, and several threw themselves headlong down the precipice. Captain Stoddart pursued the advantage; killed numbers, took many prisoners, and in short so completely destroyed, or routed

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the whole body, that they were unable afterwards to effect any enterprize of moment in this quarter of the island.

About the same time another party of the Maroons, having perceived that a body of the militia stationed at the barrack of Bagnel's thicket, in St. Mary's parish, under the command of Colonel Charlton, strayed headlessly from their quarters, and kept no order, formed a project to cut them off, and whilst the officers were at dinner, attended by a very few of their men, the Maroons rushed suddenly from the adjacent woods and attacked them. Several pieces were discharged, the report of which alarmed the militia, who immediately ran to their arms, and came up in time to rescue their officers from destruction. The Maroons were repulsed, and forced to take shelter in the woods, but the militia did not think fit to pursue them. Some rumours of this skirmish reached Spanish Town, which is distant from the spot about thirty miles; and, as all the circumstances were not known, the inhabitants were thrown into the most dreadful alarm, from apprehensions that the Maroons had defeated Charlton, and were in full march to attack the town. Ayscough, then commander in chief, participating in the general panic, ordered the trumpets to sound, the drums to beat, and in a few hours collected a body of horse and foot who went to meet the enemy. On the second day after their departure, they came to a place where, by the fires which remained unextinguished, they supposed the Maroons had lodged the preceding night. They therefore followed the track, and soon after got sight of them. Captain Edmunds, who commanded the detachment, disposed his men for action; but the Maroons declined engaging, and fled different ways

Several of them, however, were slain in the pursuit, and others made prisoners. These two victories reduced their strength, and filled them with so much terror that they never afterwards appeared in any considerable body, nor dared to make any stand; indeed, from the commencement of the war till this period, they had not once ventured a pitched battle, but skulked about the skirts of remote plantations, surprising stragglers, and murdering the whites by two or three at a time, or when they were too few to make any resistance. By night they seized the favourable opportunity that darkness gave them, of stealing into the settlements, where they set fire to cane-fields and out-houses, killed all the cattle they could find, and carried the slaves into captivity. By this dastardly method of conducting the war, they did infinite mischief to the whites, without much exposing their own persons to danger, for they always cautiously avoided fighting, except with a number so disproportionally inferior to themselves, as to afford them a pretty sure expectation of victory. They knew every secret avenue of the country; so that they could either conceal themselves from pursuit, or shift their ravages from place to place, as circumstances required. Such were the many disadvantages under which the English had to deal with these desultory foes; who were not reducible by any regular plan of attack; who possessed no plunder to allure or reward the assailants; nor had any thing to lose, except life, and a wild and savage freedom.

Previous to the successes above mentioned, the distress into which the planters were thrown, may be collected from the sense which the legislature of Jamaica expressed in some of their acts. In the year 1773, they set forth, that "the Maroons had, within

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a few years greatly increased, notwithstanding all the measures that had been concerted, and made use of, for their suppression; in particular, that they had grown very formidable in the North-east, North-west, and South-western districts of the island, to the great terror of his Majesty's subjects in those parts, who had greatly suffered by the frequent robberies, murders, and depredations committed by them; that in the parishes of Clarendon, St. Ann, St. Elizabeth, Westmorland, Hanover, and St. James's, they were considerably multiplied, and had large settlements among the mountains, and least accessible parts; whence they plundered all around them, and caused several plantations to be thrown up and abandoned, and prevented many valuable tracts of land from being cultivated, to the great prejudice and diminution of his Majesty's revenue, as well as of the trade, navigation, and consumption of British manufactures; and to the manifest weakening, and preventing the further increase of the strength and inhabitants, in the island." We may learn from hence, what extensive mischief may be perpetrated by the most despicable and cowardly enemy. The Assembly, perceiving that the employment of flying parties had proved ineffectual, by the length of their marches, the difficulty of subsisting them in the woods for so long a time as the service required, and the facility with which the Maroons eluded their pursuit, ordered several defensible houses, or barracks, fortified with bastions, to be erected in different parts, as near as possible to the enemy's most favourite haunts: in each of these they placed a strong garrison, and roads of communication were opened from one to the other. These garrisons were composed of white and black shot and baggage negroes, who were

all duly trained. Every captain was allowed a pay of ten pounds, the lieutenants each five pounds, and serjeants four pounds, and privates two pounds per month. They were subjected to the rules and articles of war; and the whole body put under the Governor's immediate order, to be employed, conjunctly or separately, as he should see occasion. Their general plan of duty, as directed by the law, was to make excursions from the barracks, scour the woods and mountains, and destroy the provision gardens and haunts of the Maroons; and that they might not return without effecting some service, they were required to take twenty days provision with them on every such expedition. Every barrack *was also furnished with a pack of dogs, provided by the Churchwardens of the respective parishes*: it being foreseen that these animals would prove extremely serviceable, not only in guarding *against surprizes in the night*, but in tracking the enemy.

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This arrangement was the most judicious hitherto contrived for their effectual reduction; for so many fortresses, stationed in the very centre of their usual retreats, well supplied with every necessary, gave the Maroons a constant and vigorous annoyance, and in short became the chief means of bringing on that treaty which afterwards put an end to this tiresome war.

About the year 1737, the Assembly resolved on taking two hundred of the Mosquito Indians into their pay, to hasten the suppression of the Maroons. They passed an act for rendering free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians, more useful, and forming them into companies, with proper encouragement. Some sloops were despatched to the Musquito shore; and that

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number of Indians was brought into the island, formed into companies under their own officers, and allowed forty shillings a month for pay, besides shoes and other articles. White guides were assigned to conduct them to the enemy, and they gave proofs of great sagacity in this service. It was their practice to observe the most profound silence in marching to the enemy's quarters; and when they had once hit upon a track, they were sure to discover the haunt to which it led. They effected considerable service, and were, indeed, the most proper troops to be employed in that species of action, which is known in America by the name of *bush fighting*. They were well rewarded for their good conduct, and afterwards dismissed to their own country, when the pacification took place with the Maroons.

For in 1738, Governor Trelawney, by the advice of the principal gentlemen of the island, proposed overtures of peace with the Maroon chiefs. Both parties were now grown heartily wearied out with this tedious conflict. The white inhabitants wished relief from the horrors of continual alarms, the hardship of military duty, and the intolerable burthen of maintaining the army. The Maroons were not less anxious for an accommodation: they were hemmed in, and closely beset on all sides; their provisions destroyed, and themselves reduced to so miserable a condition, by famine and incessant attacks, that Cudjoe afterwards declared, that if peace had not been offered to them, they had no choice left but either to be starved, lay violent hands on themselves, or surrender to the English at discretion. The extremity of their case, however, was not at that time known to the white inhabitants, and their number

was supposed to be twice as great as it was afterwards found to be. The articles of pacification (which I have subjoined) were therefore ratified with the Maroon chiefs, and fifteen hundred acres of land assigned to one body of them,\* and one thousand acres to another, which the legislature secured to them and their posterity in perpetuity. The Assembly, by subsequent laws, augmented the premium allowed the Maroons for apprehending fugitive slaves to three pounds per head; and they passed many other regulations for their better government and protection, for preventing their purchasing and harbouring negro slaves, and for directing in what manner they should be tried in the case of felony, and other crimes, committed against the whites,†

\* This was the body that settled in Trelawney Town, and are the ancestors of those who have lately taken up arms. The other Maroon negroes were those of Aocompong Town, Crawford Town, and Nanny Town, to each of which lands were allotted. The aggregate number in 1795, was about 1600 men, women and children.

† On complaint made, on oath, to a justice of peace, of any felony, burglary, robbery, or other offence whatsoever, having been committed by Maroon negroes, he is required to grant a warrant to apprehend the offenders, and to have all persons brought before him, or some other justice, than can give evidence; and if, upon examination, it appears that there are grounds for public trial, the justice is to commit the accused, unless the offence be bailable, and bind over the witnesses. They are to be tried where the quarter sessions are held, or where parochial business is usually transacted, in the following manner:—The justice is to call in two other justices (who must attend, or forfeit twenty pounds each) and they are to summon fifteen persons, such as are usually impannelled to serve on juries, to appear at a specified time, who forfeit five pounds each if they neglect. There must be ten days between the complaint and the trial. Of the fifteen persons summoned, the first twelve who appear are to compose a jury. If the Maroon be found guilty, the justices may give sentence, according to law, of death, transportation, public whipping, or confinement to hard labour for not more than twelve months. Execution of women with child is to be respited until a reasonable time after delivery; and where sentence of death or transportation shall be passed (except for rebellious conspiracies,) execution is to be respited until the Governor's pleasure be signified; the justices may also respite the execution of any other sentence till his pleasure be known, if they see cause. Where several are capitally convicted for the same offence, one only is to suffer death, except for murder or rebellion.

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and thus an end was at length happily put to this tedious and ruinous contest; a contest which, while it lasted, seemed to portend nothing less than the ruin of the whole colony.

*Articles of pacification with the Maroons of Trelawney Town, concluded March the first, 1738.*

IN the name of God, Amen. Whereas Captain Cudjoe, Captain Accompong, Captain Johnny, Captain Cuffee, Captain Quaco, and several other Negroes, their dependents and adherents, have been in a state of war and hostility, for several years past, against our sovereign lord the King, and the inhabitants of this island; and whereas peace and friendship among mankind, and the preventing the effusion of blood, is agreeable to God, consonant to reason, and desired by every good man; and whereas his Majesty, King George the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, of Jamaica Lord, Defender of the Faith, &c. has by his letters patent, dated February the twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight, in the twelfth year of his reign, granted full power and authority to John Guthrie and Francis Sadler, Esquires, to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid Captain Cudjoe, and the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, sincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles: First, That all hostility shall cease on both sides for ever. Secondly, That the said Captain Cudjoe, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men, shall be for ever hereafter in a perfect state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by them, or fled to them, within

two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their said masters or owners for what is past; provided always, that if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to Captain Cudjoe and in friendship with us, according to the form and tenor of this treaty. Thirdly, That they shall enjoy and possess, for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands situate and lying between Trelawney Town and the Cockpits, to the amount of fifteen hundred acres, bearing north-west from the said Trelawney Town. Fourthly, That they shall have liberty to plant the said lands with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other stock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the said commodities to the inhabitants of this island; provided always, that when they bring the said commodities to market, they shall apply first to the custos, or any other magistrate of the respective parishes where they expose their goods to sale, for a licence to vend the same. Fifthly, That Captain Cudjoe, and all the Captain's adherents, and people now in subjection to him, shall all live together within bounds of Trelawney Town, and that they have liberty to hunt where they shall think fit, except within three miles of any settlement, crawl, or pen; provided always, that in case the hunters of Captain Cudjoe and those of other settlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties. Sixthly, That the said Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, do use their best endeavours to take, kill, suppress, or destroy, either by themselves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanded on that service by his Excellency the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time

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being, all rebels wheresoever they be, throughout this island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation granted to Captain Cudjoe, and his successors. Seventhly, That in case this island be invaded by any foreign enemy, the said Captain Cudjoe, and his successors hereinafter named or to be appointed, shall then, upon notice given, immediately repair to any place the Governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to repel the said invaders with his or their utmost force, and to submit to the orders of the Commander in Chief on that occasion. Eighthly, That if any white man shall do any manner of injury to Captain Cudjoe, his successors, or any of his or their people, they shall apply to any commanding officer or magistrate in the neighbourhood for justice; *and in case Captain Cudjoe, or any of his people, shall do any injury to any white person, he shall submit himself, or deliver up such offenders to justice.* Ninthly, That if any negro shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and fall into Captain Cudjoe's hands, they shall immediately be sent back to the chief magistrate of the next parish where they are taken; and those that bring them are to be satisfied for their trouble, as the legislature shall appoint.\* Tenth, That all negroes taken, since the raising of this party by Captain Cudjoe's people, shall immediately be returned. Eleventh, that Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, shall wait on his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, every year, if thereunto required. Twelfth, That Captain Cudjoe, during his life, and the captains succeeding him, shall

\* The Assembly granted a premium of thirty shillings for each fugitive slave returned to his owner by the Maroons, besides expenses.

have full power to inflict any punishment they think proper for crimes committed by their men among themselves, death only excepted; in which case, if the Captain thinks they deserve death, he shall be obliged to bring them before any justice of the peace, who shall order proceedings on their trial equal to those of other free negroes. Thirteenth, That Captain Cudjoe, with his people, shall cut, clear, and keep open, large and convenient roads from Trelawney Town to Westmorland and St. James's, and if possible to St. Elizabeth's. Fourteenth, That two white men, to be nominated by his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, shall constantly live and reside with Captain Cudjoe and his successors, in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island. Fifteenth, That Captain Cudjoe shall, during his life, be Chief Commander in Trelawney Town: after his decease the command to devolve on his brother Captain Accompong; and in case of his decease, on his next brother Captain Johnny; and, failing him, Captain Cuffee shall succeed; who is to be succeeded by Captain Quaco; and after all their demises, the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, shall appoint, from time to time, whom he thinks fit for that command.

In testimony, &c. &c.

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## SECTION II.

THE preceding Section consists chiefly of an extract from the History of Jamaica, by EDWARD LONG, Esq. published in 1774, whose account I have chosen to adopt, rather than offer a narrative of my own, for two reasons; first, because I have nothing to add, concerning the origin of the Maroons, to what Mr. Long has so distinctly related; and secondly, because its adoption exempts me from all suspicion of having fabricated a tale, calculated to justify certain circumstances and transactions, of which complaint was lately made in the British Parliament,\* and to which due attention shall hereafter be paid. In the meanwhile, I shall take up and continue the subject where Mr. Long left it, beginning with some reflection on the situation, character, manners, and habits of life of the Maroon negroes; and thus tracing the cause of their late revolt to its origin.

The clause in the treaty, by which these people were compelled to reside within certain boundaries in the interior country, apart from all other negroes, was founded, probably, on the apprehension that by suffering them to intermix with the negroes in slavery, the example which they would thereby continually present of successful hostility, might prove contagious, and create in the minds of the slaves an impatience of subordination, and a disposition for revolt; but time has abundantly proved that it was an ill-judged and a fatal regulation. The Maroons, instead of being esta-

\* March, 1796.

bled into separate hordes or communities, in the strongest parts of the interior country, should have been encouraged by all possible means to frequent the towns and to intermix with the negroes at large. All distinction between the Maroons and the other free blacks would soon have been lost; for the greater number would have prevailed over the less; whereas the policy of keeping them a distinct people, continually inured to arms, introduced among them what the French call an *esprit de corps*, or community of sentiments and interests; and concealing from them the powers and resources of the whites, taught them to feel, and at the same time highly to overvalue, their own relative strength and importance.

It has been urged against the colonial legislature, as another, and a still greater, oversight, that after the conclusion of the treaty, no manner of attention was given to the improvement of these ignorant people in civilization and morals. The office of *Superintendant*, it has been said, and I believe truly, was commonly bestowed on persons of no education or consequence, and soon became a mere *sinecure*. Mr. Long observed, many years ago, that the Maroons would probably prove more faithful allies, and better subjects, if pains were taken to instil into their minds a few notions of honesty and religion; and the establishment of schools, and the erection of a chapel in each of the towns, were recommended as measures of indispensable necessity.

That these observations are altogether ill-founded, I will not presume to affirm. Man, in his savage state, in all parts of the world, is the slave of superstition; and it is the duty and policy of a good government (let its system of religion be what it may) to direct the

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Weaknesses of our fellow-creatures to the promotion of their happiness. The Christian is not only the best system of religion calculated for the attainment of that end, but, by leading the mind to the knowledge of truth and immortality, contributes more than any other to amend the heart, and exalt the human character.

Of this high and important truth I hope that I am fully sensible : yet I cannot suppress the opinion which I have long since entertained, that the conversion of savage men, from a life of barbarity to the knowledge and practice of Christianity, is a work of much greater difficulty than many pious and excellent persons in Great Britain seem fondly to imagine.

Concerning the Maroons, they are in general ignorant of our language, and all of them attached to the gloomy superstitions of Africa (derived from their ancestors) with such enthusiastic zeal and reverential ardour, as I think can only be eradicated with their lives. The Gentoos of India are not, I conceive, more sincere in their faith than the negroes of Guinea in believing the prevalence of *Obi*,\* and the supernatural power of their *Obeah* men. Obstacles like these, accompanied with the fierce and sordid manners which I shall presently describe, few clergymen would, I think, be pleased to encounter, lest they might experience all the sufferings, without acquiring the glory of martyrdom.

Under disadvantages of such magnitude was founded the first legal establishment of our Maroon allies in Jamaica. Inured, for a long series of years, to a life of warfare within the island, it is a matter of astonish-

\* A species of pretended magic, described at large in Vol. II. Book 4. c. 3.

ment that they submitted, for any length of time, to any system of subordination or government whatever. It is probable they were chiefly induced to remain quiet by the great encouragement that was held out to them for the apprehending fugitive slaves, and being allowed to range over the uncultivated country without interruption, possessing an immense wilderness for their hunting grounds. These pursuits gave full employment to the restless and turbulent among them. Their game was the wild boar, which abounds in the interior parts of Jamaica; and the Maroons had a method of curing the flesh without salting it. This commodity they frequently brought to market in the towns; and, with the money arising from the sale, and the rewards which they received for the delivery to their owners of runaway slaves, they purchased salted beef, spirituous liquors, tobacco, fire-arms, and ammunition, setting little or no account on clothing of any kind, and regarding as superfluous and useless most of those things which every people, in the lowest degree of civilization, would consider as almost absolutely necessary to human existence.

Their language was a barbarous dissonance of the African dialects, with a mixture of Spanish and broken English; and their thoughts and attention seemed wholly engrossed by their present pursuits, and the objects immediately around them, without any reflections on the past, or solicitude for the future. In common with all the nations of Africa, they believed, however, as I have observed, in the prevalence of *Obi*, and the authority which such of their old men as had the reputation of wizards or *Obeah-men*, possessed over them, was sometimes very successfully employed in keeping them in subordination to their chiefs.

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Having, in the resources that have been mentioned, the means of procuring food for their daily support, they had no inclination for the pursuits of sober industry. Their repugnance to the labour of tilling the earth was remarkable. In some of their villages I never could perceive any vestige of culture; but the situation of their towns, in such cases, was generally in the neighbourhood of plantations belonging to the whites, from the provision grounds of which they either purchased, or stole, yams, plantains, corn, and other esculents. When they had no supply of this kind, I have sometimes observed small patches of Indian corn and yams, and perhaps a few straggling plantain trees, near their habitations; but the ground was always in a shocking state of neglect and ruin.

The labours of the field, however, such as they were (as well as every other species of drudgery), were performed by the women, who had no other means of clearing the ground of the vast and heavy woods with which it is every where encumbered, than by placing fire round the trunks of the trees till they were consumed in the middle, and fell by their own weight. It was a service of danger; but the Maroons, like all other savage nations, regarded their wives as so many beasts of burthen; and felt no more concern at the loss of one of them, than a white planter would have felt at the loss of a bullock. Polygamy too, with their other African customs, prevailed among the Maroons universally. Some of their principal men claimed from two to six wives, and the miseries of their situation left these poor creatures neither leisure nor inclination to quarrel with each other.

This spirit of brutality which the Maroons always

displayed towards their wives, extended in some degree to their children. The paternal authority was at all times most harshly exerted; but more especially towards the females. I have been assured, that it was not an uncommon circumstance for a father, in a fit of rage or drunkenness, to seize his own infant, which had offended him by crying, and dash it against a rock, with a degree of violence that often proved fatal. This he did without any apprehension of punishment; for the superintendant, on such occasions, generally found it prudent to keep his distance, or be silent. Nothing can more strikingly demonstrate the forlorn and abject condition of the young women among the Maroons, than the circumstances which every gentleman, who has visited them on festive occasions, or for the gratification of curiosity, knows to be true; the offering their own daughters, by the first men among them, to their visitors; and bringing the poor girls forward, with or without their consent, for the purpose of prostitution.

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Visits of this kind were indeed but too acceptable both to the Maroons and their daughters: for they generally ended in drunkenness and riot. The visitors too were not only fleeced of their money, but were likewise obliged to *furnish the feast*, it being indispensably necessary, on such occasions, to send beforehand wine and provisions of all kinds; and if the guests expected to sleep on beds and in linen, they must provide those articles also for themselves. The Maroons, however, if the party consisted of persons of consequence, would consider themselves as highly honoured, and would supply wild-boar, land-crabs, pigeons, and fish, and entertain their guests with a hearty and boisterous kind of hospitality, which had

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at least the charms of novelty and singularity to recommend it.

On such occasions, a mock fight always constituted a part of the entertainment. Mr. Long has given the following description of a scene of this kind, which was exhibited by the Trelawney-Town Maroons, in the presence of the Governor, in 1764. "No sooner (he observes) did the horn sound the signal, than they all joined in a most hideous yell, or war-hoop, and bounded into action. With amazing agility they ran, or rather rolled, through their various firings and evolutions. This part of their exercise, indeed, more justly deserves to be styled *evolution* than any that is practised by the regular troops; for they fire stooping almost to the very ground; and no sooner are their muskets discharged, than they throw themselves into a thousand antic gestures, and tumble over and over, so as to be continually shifting their place; the intention of which is to elude the shot, as well as to deceive the aim of their adversaries, which their nimble and almost instantaneous change of position renders extremely uncertain. When this part of their exercise was over, they drew their swords; and winding their horn again, began, in wild and warlike gestures, to advance towards his Excellency, endeavouring to throw as much savage fury into their looks as possible. On approaching near him, some waved their rusty blades over his head, then gently laid them upon it; whilst others clashed their arms together in horrid concert. They next brought their muskets, and piled them up in heaps at his feet, &c. &c."

With all this seeming fury and affected bravery, however, I suspect that they are far below the whites

in personal valour. Their mode of fighting in real war, is a system of stratagem, bush-fighting, and ambuscade. I will not, indeed, affirm that such a system alone, though it displays no proof of courage, is absolutely evidence to the contrary. I believe it is the natural mode of attack and defence; and that the practice of open war, among civilized nations, is artificial and acquired. It is rather from their abominable and habitual cruelty to their captives, and above all to women and children, and from the shocking enormities which they practise on the dead bodies of their enemies, that I infer the deficiency of the Maroons in the virtue of true courage. In their treatment of fugitive slaves, they manifest a blood-thirstiness of disposition, which is otherwise unaccountable; for, although their vigilance is stimulated by the prospect of reward, they can have no possible motives of revenge or malice towards the unfortunate objects of their pursuit: yet it is notoriously true, that they wish for nothing more than a pretence to put the poor wretches to death, frequently maiming them without provocation; and, until mile-money was allowed by the legislature, oftentimes bringing home the head of the fugitive, instead of the living man; making the plea of resistance an excuse for their barbarity.

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In the year 1760, an occasion occurred of putting the courage, fidelity, and humanity of these people to the test. The Koromantyn slaves, in the parish of St. Mary, rose into rebellion, and the Maroons were called upon, according to treaty, to co-operate in their suppression. A party of them accordingly arrived at the scene of action, the second or third day after the rebellion had broken out. The whites had already defeated the insurgents, in a pitched battle, at *Hey-*

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*wood-Hall*, killed eight or nine of their number, and driven the remainder into the woods. The Maroons were ordered to pursue them, and were promised a certain reward for each rebel they might kill or take prisoner. They accordingly pushed into the woods, and after rambling about for a day or two, returned with a collection of human ears, which they pretended to have cut off from the heads of rebels which they had slain in battle, the particulars of which they minutely related. Their report was believed, and they received the money stipulated to be paid them; yet it was afterwards found that they had not killed a man; that no engagement had taken place; and that the ears which they had produced, had been severed from the dead Negroes which had lain unburied at Heywood-Hall.

Some few days after this, as the Maroons and a detachment of the 74th regiment, were stationed at a solitary place, surrounded by deep woods, called Down's Cove, the detachment was suddenly attacked in the middle of the night by the rebels. The sentinels were shot, and the huts in which the soldiers were lodged, were set on fire. The light of the flames, while it exposed the troops, served to conceal the rebels, who poured in a shower of musketry from all quarters, and many of the soldiers were slain. Major Forsyth who commanded the detachment, formed his men into a square, and by keeping up a brisk fire from all sides, at length compelled the enemy to retire. During the whole of this affair the Maroons were not to be found, and Forsyth, for some time, suspected that they were themselves the assailants. It was discovered, however, that, immediately on the attack, the whole body of them had thrown themselves flat on

the ground, and continued in that position until the rebels retreated, without firing or receiving a shot.

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A party of them, indeed, had afterwards the merit (a merit of which they loudly boasted) of killing the leader of the rebels. He was a young negro of the Koromantyn nation, named Tackey, and it was said had been of free condition, and even a chieftain, in Africa. This unfortunate man, having seen most of his companions slaughtered, was discovered wandering in the woods without arms or clothing, and was immediately pursued by the Maroons, *in full cry*. The chase was of no long duration; he was shot through the head; and it is painful to relate, but unquestionably true, that his savage pursuers, having decollated the body, in order to preserve the head as the trophy of victory, *roasted and actually devoured the heart and entrails of the wretched victim!*\*

The misconduct of these people in this rebellion, whether proceeding from cowardice or treachery, was, however, overlooked. Living secluded from the rest of the community, they were supposed to have no knowledge of the rules and restraints to which all other classes of the inhabitants were subject; and the vigilance of justice (notwithstanding what has recently happened) seldom pursued them, even for offences of the most atrocious nature.

In truth, it always seemed to me, that the whites

\* The circumstances that I have related concerning the conduct of the Maroons, in the rebellion of 1760, are partly founded on my own knowledge and personal observation at the time (having been myself present) or from the testimony of eye-witnesses, men of character and probity. The shocking fact last mentioned was attested by several white people, and was not attempted to be denied or concealed by the Maroons themselves. They seemed indeed to make it the subject of boasting and triumph.

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in general entertained an opinion of the usefulness of the Maroons, which no part of their conduct, at any one period, confirmed.—Possibly their personal appearance contributed, in some degree, to preserve the delusion; for, savage as they were in manners and disposition, their mode of living and daily pursuits undoubtedly strengthened the frame, and served to exalt them to great bodily perfection. Such fine persons as are seldom beheld among any other class of African or native blacks. Their demeanor is lofty, their walk firm, and their persons erect. Every motion displays a combination of strength and agility. The muscles (neither hidden nor depressed by clothing) are very prominent, and strongly marked. Their sight withal is wonderfully acute, and their hearing remarkably quick. These characteristics, however, are common, I believe, to all savage nations, in warm and temperate climates; and, like other savages, the Maroons have only those senses, perfect which are kept in constant exercise. Their smell is obtuse, and their taste so depraved, that I have seen them drink new rum fresh from the still, in preference to wine which I offered them: and I remember, at a great festival in one of their towns, which I attended, that their highest luxury, in point of food, was some rotten beef, which had been originally salted in Ireland, and which was probably presented to them, by some person who knew their taste, *because it was putrid.*

Such was the situation of the Maroon negroes of Jamaica, previous to their late revolt; and the picture which I have drawn of their character and manners, was delineated from the life, after long experience and observation. Of that revolt I shall now pro-

ceed to describe the cause, progress, and termination; and, if I know myself, without partiality or prejudice.

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### SECTION III.

In the month of July, 1795, two Maroons from Trelawney Town, having committed a felony in stealing some pigs, were apprehended, sent to Montego Bay, and there tried for the offence, according to law. Having been found guilty by the jury, the magistrates ordered each of them to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back. The sentence was executed accordingly. They were whipped in the workhouse, by the black overseer of the workhouse negroes; the person whose office it is to inflict punishment on such occasions. The offenders were then immediately discharged; and they went off, with some of their companions, abusing and insulting every white person whom they met in the road.

On their return to Trelawney Town, and giving an account of what had passed, the whole body of Maroons immediately assembled; and after violent debates and altercations among themselves, a party of them repaired to Captain Craskell, the superintendant, and ordered him, in the name of the whole, to quit the town forthwith, under pain of death. He retired to Vaughan's field, a plantation in the neighborhood; and exerted himself, by friendly messages and otherwise, to pacify the Maroons; but without effect. They sent a *written defiance* to the magistrates of Montego Bay, declaring their intention to meet the white people in arms, and threatening to attack the town on the 20th

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of that month (July.) In the meanwhile an attempt was made on Captain Craskell's life, and he very narrowly escaped.

Alarmed by the receipt of this letter, and the intelligence which was received of the temper and disposition of the Maroons, the magistrates applied to General Palmer, requesting him to call out the militia; which was done; and the General sent an express to the Earl of Balcarres, in Spanish Town, praying his Lordship to send down a detachment of the Jamaica dragoons. Eighty men were accordingly sent, well accoutred and mounted.

The militia assembled on the 19th of July, to the number of four hundred; and while they were waiting for orders, one of the Maroons, armed with a lance, made his appearance, and informed the commanding officer, that they wished to have a conference in Trelawney Town, with John Tharp, Esq. (the Custos and Chief Magistrate of Trelawney), Messrs. Stewart and Hodges, the Members in the Assembly, and Jarvis Gallimore, Esq. Colonel of the Militia.

As this message seemed to manifest a disinclination, on the part of the chief body of the Maroons, to proceed to hostilities, the gentlemen above named very readily accepted the invitation, and proceeded to the town the next day (the 20th). They were accompanied by Colonel Thomas Reed, of the St. James's militia, a very distinguished and gallant officer, and a man of the highest honour and character; by other persons of consideration; and also by Major James, whose son had formerly acted as superintendant of the town, who was himself superintendant-general of all the Maroon towns in the island, and was supposed to have more weight, and to possess greater influence,

with the Maroons, than any other man in the country. APPEN-  
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The Maroons received them under arms. There appeared about three hundred able men, all of whom had painted their faces for battle, and seemed ready for action; and they behaved with so much insolence, that the gentlemen were at first exceedingly alarmed for their own safety. A conference however ensued: in which it was observable that the Maroons complained—not of the injustice or severity of the punishment which had been inflicted on two of their companions; but—of the disgrace which they insisted the magistrates of Montego Bay had put on their whole body, by ordering the punishment to be inflicted in the work-house by the black overseer or driver, and in the presence of fugitive and felon negro slaves, many of whom they had themselves apprehended\*. They concluded by demanding reparation for this indignity; an addition to the lands they possessed; the dismissal of Captain Craskell, and the appointment of Mr. James, their former superintendant.

The gentlemen had certainly no authority to agree to any of these requisitions; they promised however to state their grievances to the commander-in-chief, and to recommend to the legislature to grant them an addition of land. In the meanwhile, they assured the Maroons they would request the Governor to provide otherwise for Capt. Craskell, their superintendant, and to re-appoint in his room their favourite Mr. James. With these assurances the Maroons seemed pacified,

\* It certainly is to be wished, that some little attention had been paid, by the magistrates, to the pride or the prejudices of the Maroons in this respect. The law however is wholly silent on this head, and the court had a right to exercise its discretion.

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and declared they had nothing further to ask; and the gentlemen, having distributed a considerable sum of money amongst them, returned to Montego Bay.

It soon appeared, however, that the Maroons, in desiring this conference, were actuated solely by motives of treachery. They were apprized that a fleet of 150 ships was to sail for Great Britain on the morning of the 26th; and they knew that very few British troops remained in the island, except the 83d regiment, and that this very regiment was, at that juncture, under orders to embark for St. Domingo; they hoped therefore, by the specious and delusive appearance of desiring a conference, to quiet suspicion, until the July fleet was sailed, and the regulars fairly departed. In the meanwhile, they pleased themselves with the hope of prevailing on the negro slaves throughout the island to join them: and by rising in a mass, to enable them to exterminate the whites at a blow.

The very day the conference was held, they began tampering with the negroes on the numerous and extensive plantations in the neighborhood of Montego Bay\*. On some of these plantations their emissaries were cordially received and secreted: on others, the slaves themselves voluntarily apprised their overseers, that the Maroons were endeavoring to seduce them from their allegiance. Information of this nature was transmitted from many respectable quarters; but most of the gentlemen who had visited the Maroons on the 20th, were so confident of their *fidelity* and *affection*, that the Governor, disbelieving the charges against them, was prevailed on to let the troops embark as originally intended, and they actually sailed from

\* Trelawney Town is situated within twenty miles of the town and harbour of Montego Bay.

Port Royal on the morning of the 29th, under convoy of the *Success* frigate.

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In the course of that, and the two succeeding days, however, such intelligence was received at the Government house, as left no possible room to doubt the treachery of these *faithful* and *affectionate* people; and the Earl of Balcarres, with that promptitude and decision which distinguish his character, determined on a line of conduct adapted to the importance of the occasion. The course from Port Royal to St. Domingo (as the reader is perhaps informed) is altogether against the wind, and there is sometimes a strong lee current; as was fortunately the case at this juncture. These were favourable circumstances, and afforded the Governor room to hope that the transports which conveyed the troops might possibly be overtaken at sea, by a fast-sailing boat, from the east end of the island, furnished with oars for rowing in the night. His Lordship was not mistaken; the boat which was provided came up with them on the 2d of August, off the north-east end of Jamaica, and delivered orders to Captain Pigot of the *Success*, forthwith to change his course, and proceed with the transports down the north side of the island to Montego Bay. Captain Pigot immediately obeyed; and it is probable that by this happy accident the country was saved.

The 83d regiment, consisting of upwards of one thousand effective men, commanded by Colonel Fitch; landed at Montego Bay on Tuesday the 4th of August. At this moment, although the militia of this part of the country were under arms, and had been joined by the detachment of light dragoons, the utmost anxiety was visible in every countenance. The July fleet was sailed; and the certainty that the Ma-

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roons had collected great quantities of arms and ammunition;—that they had been tampering with the slaves, and the uncertainty of the success and extent of their machinations, had cast a gloom on the face of every man; and while rumours of plots and conspiracies distracted the minds of the ignorant, many among the most thoughtful and considerate, anticipated all the horrors of St. Domingo, and in imagination already beheld their houses and plantations in flames, and their wives and children bleeding under the swords of the most merciless of assassins.

The sudden and unexpected arrival of so powerful a reinforcement, in the most critical moment, immediately changed the scene. But further measures were adopted. By the advice of a council of war, composed chiefly of members of the Assembly, the Governor put the whole island under martial law. A further reinforcement of 130 well-mounted dragoons under the command of Colonel Sandford, and a detachment of 100 men of the 62d regiment, were sent down on the 3d: Colonel Walpole, with 150 dismounted dragoons, embarked at the same time for Black River, to command the forces of St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland; and on the morning of the fourth, the Governor himself left Spanish town for Montego Bay; determined to command on the scene of action in person.

The reader will easily conceive, that measures of such extent and magnitude were not adopted solely in the belief that the Maroons alone were concerned. It must be repeated, that the most certain and abundant proofs had been transmitted to the commander in chief, of their attempts to create a general revolt of the enslaved negroes, and it was impossible to foresee the result. The situation of the slaves, under prevailing

circumstances, required the most serious attention. With the recent example before their eyes of the dreadful insurrection in St. Domingo, they had been accustomed, for the preceding seven years, to hear of nothing but Mr. Wilberforce, and his efforts to serve them in Great Britain. Means of information were not wanting. Instructors were constantly found among the black servants continually returning from England; and I have not the smallest doubt that the negroes on every plantation in the West Indies were taught to believe that their masters were generally considered in the mother-country, as a set of odious and abominable miscreants, whom it was laudable to massacre!

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The wisdom, decision, and activity of the Earl of Balcarres, on the present occasion, defeated their projects. The effect of his Lordship's conduct thenceforward, on the minds of the enslaved negroes throughout the whole country, was wonderful. Submission, tranquillity, and good order, prevailed universally among them. The circumstance attending the return of the 88d regiment, induced them to believe that Heaven itself had declared in favour of the whites, and that all attempts at resistance were unavailing and impious.

The Maroons themselves became divided in their councils. Many of the old and experienced among them, even in Trelawney Town, the head quarters of sedition, recommended peace; and advised their companions to postpone their vengeance to a better opportunity; and the whole of the *Acompong* people declared in favour of the whites. It was determined, however, by a very great majority of the Trelawney Maroons, to *fight the Bucras* (meaning the white people). The violent councils of the younger part of their community prevailed; most of whom were inflamed with a degree

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of savage fury against the whites, which set at naught all considerations of prudence and policy.

The commander in chief, however, previous to any hostile movement, determined to try once more to effect an accommodation. . As it was evident the Maroons consulted some person who could read and write, his Lordship, on the 8th of August, sent into their town a written message or summons in the following words :

*To the Maroons of Trelawney Town.*

“ You have entered into a most unprovoked, ungrateful, and most dangerous rebellion.

“ You have driven away the superintendant placed over you by the laws of this country.

“ You have treated him, your Commander, with indignity and contempt. You have endeavoured to massacre him.

“ You have put the Magistrates of the country, and all the white people, at defiance.

“ You have challenged and offered them battle.

“ You have forced the country, which has long cherished and fostered you as its children, to consider you as an enemy.

“ Martial law has in consequence been proclaimed.

“ Every pass to your town has been occupied and guarded by the militia and regular forces.

“ You are surrounded by thousands.

“ Look at Montego Bay, and you will see the force brought against you.

“ I have issued a proclamation, offering a reward for your heads; that terrible edict will not be put in force before Thursday, the 13th day of August.

“ To avert these proceedings, I advise and command every Maroon of Trelawney Town, capable of

bearing arms, to appear before me at Montego Bay, on Wednesday the 12th day of August instant, and there submit themselves to his Majesty's mercy. APPEN-  
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“ On so doing, you will escape the effects of the dreadful command, ordered to be put in execution on Thursday, the 13th day of August; on which day, in failure of your obedience to this summons, your town shall be burnt to the ground, and for ever destroyed.

“ And whereas it appears that other negroes, besides the Maroons of Trelawney Town, were there under arms on the day that town was visited by John Tharp, Esq. and several other magistrates of the parish of Trelawney, you are strictly commanded and enjoined to bring such stranger negroes to Montego Bay, as prisoners, on or before the before-mentioned Wednesday, the 12th day of August instant.

#### “ BALCARRES.”

Apprehensive, however, that this summons would have but little effect, the Governor at the same time gave orders that the regulars and militia should take possession of all the known paths leading to Trelawney Town from the surrounding parishes; and the troops arrived at their respective stations early on the 9th.

On the morning of the 11th, thirty-eight of the Trelawney Maroons, being chiefly old men, surrendered themselves to the Governor's mercy, at Vaughan's field, and frankly declared, that, with regard to the rest of the town, they were determined on war. “ *The devil, they said, had got into them,*” and nothing but superiority of force would bring them to reason.

Two of the thirty-eight were, however, sent back to try, for the last time, if persuasion would avail; but they were detained by the rest, who, having secreted

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their women and children, *passed the Rubicon*, the ensuing night, by setting fire themselves to their town, and commencing hostilities on the outposts of the army. The attack fell chiefly on the St. James's company of free people of colour, of whom two were killed and six wounded : and thus began this unfortunate war.

The Maroons immediately afterwards assembled in a body, near a small village which was called their *New Town*, behind which were their provision grounds.— On the afternoon of the 12th, orders were given to Lieutenant-Colonel Sandford to march with a detachment of the 18th and 20th dragoons, and a party of the horse militia, and take possession of those grounds the same evening ; it being the Governor's intention to attack the Maroons at the same time, in front. Colonel Sandford proceeded accordingly, accompanied by a body of volunteers ; but having been informed that the Maroons had retired to the ruins of their old town, he was persuaded, instead of waiting at his post for further orders from the Governor, to proceed beyond his limits, and to push after the enemy ; a most unfortunate and fatal determination, to which this gallant officer, and many valuable men, fell a sacrifice. The retreat of the Maroons from the *New Town*, was a feint to draw the whites into an ambuscade, which unfortunately succeeded. The road between the new and old towns was very bad and very narrow ; and the troops had marched about half-way, the regulars in front, the militia in the centre, and the volunteers in the rear, when a heavy fire ensued from the bushes. Colonel Sandford was among the first that fell, and with him perished Quarter Master M'Bride, six privates of the 20th, and eight of the 18th light dragoons. Of the militia, thirteen were slain outright, and, among the rest, the commanding

officer, Colonel Gallimore; eight of the volunteers also were killed, and many of all descriptions wounded. The troops, however, pushed forward, and drove the Maroons from their hiding places, and after a night of unparalleled hardship, the survivors got back to Vaughan's-field in the morning, and brought with them most of their wounded companions.\*

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Thus terminated this disastrous and bloody conflict; in which it was never known with certainty, that a single Maroon lost his life. Their triumph therefore was great, and many of the best informed among the planters, in consequence of it, again anticipated the most dreadful impending calamities. So general was the alarm, that the governor thought it necessary, in a proclamation which he issued on the occasion, to make public the orders he had given to Colonel Sandford, and to declare in express terms, that if the detachment under that officer's command had remained at the post which it was directed to occupy, the Maroons, in all probability, would have been compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. "Soldiers will learn from this fatal lesson (adds his Lordship most truly) the indispensable necessity of strictly adhering to orders. An excess of ardour is often as prejudicial to the accomplishment of any military enterprise, as cowardice itself."—The truth was, that the whole detachment

\* Among the officers of the militia who escaped on this occasion, was my late excellent and lamented friend *George Goodin Barrett*. He was attended on that day by a favourite negro servant; of whom it is related that, during the first attack, perceiving a Maroon from behind a tree present his gun at his beloved master, he instantly rushed forward to protect him, by interposing his own person; and actually received the shot in his breast. I rejoice to add, that the wound was not mortal; and that the poor fellow has been rewarded as he deserved, for such an instance of heroic fidelity as history has seldom recorded.

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held the enemy in too great contempt. They marched forth in the confidence of certain victory, and never having had any experience of the Maroons' mode of fighting, disregarded the advice of some faithful negro attendants, who apprized them of it. Happily the class of people on whom the Maroons relied for support, remained peaceably disposed; nor did an instance occur to raise a doubt of their continuing to do so.

By the death of Sandford, the command, in the Governor's absence, devolved on Colonel Fitch, an officer whose general deportment and character excited great expectation; but the Maroons found means to elude his vigilance. They had now established their headquarters at a place in the interior country, of most difficult access, called the *Cockpits*; a sort of valley or dell, surrounded by steep precipices and broken rocks, and by mountains of prodigious height; in the caverns of which they had secreted their women and children, and deposited their ammunition. From this retreat (almost inaccessible to any but themselves) they sent out small parties of their ablest and most enterprising young men, some of which were employed in prowling about the country in search of provisions, and others in setting fire by night to such houses and plantations as were unprovided with a sufficient guard. In the beginning of September, they burnt the habitation and settlement of Mr. George Gordon, called Kenmure; and soon afterwards the dwelling-house and buildings of a coffee plantation, called Lapland; the proprietor too sustained the still greater loss of thirty valuable negroes, whom the Maroons compelled to go with them, loaded with plunder. Another plantation, called Catadupa, was destroyed by them in the same manner, and ten of the negroes carried off. About the same

time, they burnt the property of John Shand, Esq ; a settlement belonging to Messrs. Stevens and Bernard, a plantation called Bandon, a house of a Mr. Lewis, and various others.

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At these places several white people unfortunately fell into their hands, all of whom were murdered in cold blood, without any distinction of sex, or regard to age. Even women in childbed, and infants at the breast, were alike indiscriminately slaughtered by this savage enemy ; and the shrieks of the miserable victims, which were distinctly heard at the posts of the British detachments, frequently conveyed the first notice, that the Maroons were in the neighbourhood.

The fate of Mr. Gowdie, a respectable and venerable planter who lived within a few miles of Trelawney Town, was remarkable. This gentleman having a better opinion of the Maroons than they deserved, had employed one of their chief men to act as the overseer or superintendant of his plantation, whom he treated with singular kindness, and allowed him the same wages as would have been paid to a white person in the same capacity. Although, on the commencement of hostilities, this man had joined the insurgents, Mr. Gowdie continued to place a fatal dependance on his fidelity, and was induced to visit his own plantation as often as his necessary attendance on military duty would allow. He had the most perfect confidence that his Maroon overseer would interfere to protect him from danger ; yet did this barbarous villain come himself to the house of his benefactor, at the head of a band of savages, and having coolly informed Mr. Gowdie, that the Maroons had taken an oath, after their manner, to murder all the whites without distinction, he massacred both him and his nephew, (the only white person with him) without compunction or remorse.

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But, perhaps, no one circumstance in the course of this most unfortunate war excited greater indignation, or awakened more general sympathy, than the death of Colonel Fitch, who, notwithstanding the recent example of Colonel Sandford's fate, perished nearly in the same manner as that unfortunate officer had done; being like him surprised by an enemy in ambush. On the 12th of September he went out with a detachment of the 83d regiment, consisting of thirty-two men, to relieve some distant out-posts; at one of which he left a guard, and proceeded onwards with the rest of his men; but after getting about half a mile further, he was attacked by a volley of musketry from the bushes, and received a wound in the breast, with which he dropt. After expressing a wish, and receiving assurances, that he should not fall alive into the hands of the merciless savages, he raised himself up; when another ball took place in his forehead, which instantly put an end to his life. A corporal and three privates of the 83d, and two negro servants, were also killed; and Captain Leigh and nine of the party wounded; and if the guard, which had been left behind, had not pushed forward to their assistance, immediately on hearing the firing, not one of the whole detachment would have escaped with life; two of them actually fell into the hands of the enemy, and were put to death with circumstances of outrageous barbarity, and Capt. Leigh afterwards died of his wounds. The misfortune of this day was aggravated too by a circumstance, which, though shocking to relate, must not be omitted, as it strongly marks the base and ferocious character of the Maroons. When the remains of Colonel Fitch were found, a day or two afterwards, by a party sent to give them the rites of sepulture, it was perceived that the

head had been separated from the body, and was entombed *in the ill-fated officer's own bowels!*

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It now became evident, that it would prove a work of greater difficulty than was imagined, to stop the depredations which were daily and hourly committed by the horde of savages; and it was allowed that extraordinary measures were necessary, in order to counteract their constant practice of planting ambushes. Neither the courage nor conduct of the best disciplined troops in the world could always avail against men, who, lurking in secret like the tigers of Africa, (themselves unseen) had no object but murder. The legislative bodies of the island were soon to meet, and the hopes of the whole community rested on their counsels.

SECTION IV.

THE General Assembly was convened the latter end of September, and their first deliberations were directed to the subject of the Maroon rebellion, with a solicitude equal to its importance. On this occasion it was natural to recur to the experience of former times, and inquire into the measures that had been successfully adopted in the long and bloody war, which, previous to the treaty of 1738, had been carried on against the same enemy. The expedient which had then been resorted to, of employing dogs to discover the concealment of the Maroons, and prevent the fatal effects which resulted from their mode of fighting in ambuscade, was recommended as a fit example to be followed in the present conjuncture; and it being known that the Spanish Americans possessed a certain species

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of those animals, which it was judged would be proper for such a service, the assembly resolved to send to the island of Cuba for one hundred of them, and to engage a sufficient number of the Spanish huntsmen, to attend and direct their operations. The employment to which these dogs are generally put by the Spaniards, is the pursuit of wild bullocks, which they slaughter for the hides; and the great use of the dog is, to drive the cattle from such heights and recesses in the mountainous parts of the country, as are least accessible to the hunters.

The Assembly were not unapprised that the measure of calling in such auxiliaries, and urging the canine species to the pursuit of human beings, would probably give rise to much observation and animadversion in the mother-country. Painful experience on other occasions had taught them, that their conduct, in the present case, would be scrutinized with all the rigid and jealous circumspection which ignorance and hatred, and envy and malice, and pretended humanity, and fanaticism, could exercise. The horrible enormities of the Spaniards in the conquest of the new world would be brought again to remembrance. It is mournfully true that dogs were used by those christian barbarians against the peaceful and inoffensive Americans, and the just indignation of all mankind has ever since branded, and will continue to brand, the Spanish nation with infamy for such atrocities. It was foreseen, and strongly urged as an argument against recurring to the same weapon in the present case, that the prejudices of party and the virulent zeal of faction and bigotry, would place the proceedings of the Assembly on this occasion, in a point of view equally odious with the conduct of Spain on the same blood-stained theatre,

in times past. No reasonable allowance would be made for the wide difference existing between the two cases. Some gentlemen even thought that the co-operation of dogs with British troops, would give not only a cruel, but also a very dastardly complexion to the proceedings of government.

To these, and similar objections, it was answered, that the safety of the island, and the lives of the inhabitants, were not to be sacrificed to perverse misconstruction or wilful misrepresentation in the mother-country. It was maintained that the grounds of the measure needed only to be fully examined into, and fairly stated, to induce all reasonable men to admit its propriety and necessity. To hold it as a principle, that it is an act of cruelty or cowardice in man to employ other animals as instruments of war, is a position contradicted by the practice of all nations. The Asiatics have ever used elephants in their battles; if lions and tigers possessed the docility of the elephant, no one can doubt that these also would be made to assist the military operations of man in those regions of which they are inhabitants. Even the use of cavalry, as established among the most civilized and polished nations of Europe, must be rejected if this principle be admitted; for wherein, it was asked, does the humanity of that doctrine consist, which allows the employment of troops of horse in the pursuit of discomfited and flying infantry; yet shrinks at the preventive measure of sparing the effusion of human blood, by tracing with hounds the haunts of murderers, and rousing from ambush savages more ferocious and blood-thirsty than the animals which track them?

The merits of the question, it was said, depended altogether on the origin and cause of the war and the

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objects sought to be obtained by its continuance ; and the authority of the first writers on public law was adduced in support of this construction. “ If the cause and end of war (says Paley*) be justifiable, all the means that appear necessary to that end are justifiable also. This is the principle which defends those extremities to which the violence of war usually proceeds : for since war is a contest by force between parties who acknowledge no common superior, and since it includes not in its idea the supposition of any convention which should place limits to the operations of force, it has naturally no boundary but that in which force terminates ; the destruction of the life against which the force is directed.” It was allowed (with the same author) that gratuitous barbarities borrow no excuse from licence of war, of which kind is every cruelty and every insult that serves only to exasperate the sufferings, or to incense the hatred of an enemy, without weakening his strength, or in any manner tending to procure his submission ; such as the slaughter of captives, the subjecting them to indignities or torture, the violation of women, and in general the destruction or defacing of works that conduce nothing to annoyance or defence. These enormities are prohibited not only by the practice of civilized nations, but by the law of nature itself ; as having no proper tendency to accelerate the termination or accomplish the object of war : and as containing that which in peace and war is equally unjustifiable, namely, *ultimate and gratuitous mischief*. Now all these very enormities were practised, not by the Whites against the Maroons, but by the Maroons themselves against the Whites. Humanity

* Moral Philosophy, vol. ii. p. 417.

therefore, it was said, was no way concerned in the sort of expedient that was proposed, or any other, by which such an enemy could most speedily be extirpated. They were not an unarmed, innocent, and defenceless race of men, like the ancient Americans; but a banditti of assassins; and tenderness towards such an enemy was cruelty to all the rest of the community.

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Happily, in the interval between the determination of the Assembly to procure the Spanish dogs, and the actual arrival of those auxiliaries from Cuba, such measures were pursued as promised to render their assistance altogether necessary. On the death of Colonel Fitch, the chief conduct of the war, in the absence of the Governor, was entrusted to Major-general Walpole, an officer whose indefatigable zeal and alacrity, whose gallantry, circumspection, and activity, in a very short time gave a new aspect to affairs, and reduced the enemy to the last extremity. Although the country to which the Moroons retired, was perhaps the strongest and most impracticable of any on the face of the earth, it was entirely destitute of springs and rivers. All the water which the rains had left in the hollows of the rocks was exhausted, and the enemy's only resource was in the leaves of the *wild-pine*; a wonderful contrivance, by which Divine Providence has rendered the sterile and rocky deserts of the torrid zone in some degree habitable;* but even this resource was at

* The botanical name is *Tillandsia marima*. It is not, properly speaking, a tree, but a plant, which fixes itself and takes root on the body of a tree, commonly in the fork of the greater branches of the wild cotton tree. By the conformation of its leaves, it catches and retains water from every shower. Each leaf resembles a spout, and forms at its base a natural bucket or reservoir, which contains about a quart of pure water, where it

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length exhausted, and the sufferings of the rebels, for want both of water and food, were excessive. By the unremitting diligence and indefatigable exertions of the troops, all or most of the passes to other parts of the country were effectually occupied; and a perseverance in the same system must, it was thought, soon force the enemy to an unconditional surrender.

In spite of all these precautions, however, a rebel Captain of the name of Johnson, found means to conduct a small detachment of the Maroons into the parish of St. Elizabeth, and to set fire to many of the plantations in that fertile district. His first attempt was against the habitation of a Mr. M'Donald, whose neighbour, a Mr. Haldane, together with his son, hastened to his assistance. The elder Haldane unfortunately fell by a musket ball, but the son shot the Maroon dead that fired it, and carried his wounded father in his arms to a place of safety, where he happily recovered.—The Maroons were repulsed; but proceeding to a plantation of Dr. Brooks, they burnt the buildings to the ground, and killed two white men. They left, however, a white woman and her infant unmolested; and as this was the first instance of tenderness shewn by the rebels to women and children, it was imputed rather to the consciousness of their inability to continue the war, and the hopes of getting better terms on a treaty by this act of lenity, than to any change in their disposition.

The Earl of Balcarres, as soon as the business of the Assembly would allow him to be absent from the capital, returned in person to the scene of action, and

remains perfectly secure, both from the wind and the sun; yielding refreshment to the thirsty traveller in places where water is not otherwise to be procured.

it is impossible to speak of his, and General Walpole's exertions, in terms of sufficient approbation, or to convey any just idea of the fatigues and hardships which the troops underwent, without entering into a copious detail of the various enterprizes and skirmishes that ensued, and the difficulties they had to encounter from the nature of the country. The line of operation extended upwards of twenty miles in length, through tracks and glades of which the military term *defile* gives no adequate conception. The caves in which the Maroons concealed their ammunition and provisions, and secured their women and children, were inaccessible to the Whites. The place called the *Cock-pits* before mentioned, could be reached only by a path down a steep rock 150 feet in almost perpendicular height. Strange as it may appear, this obstacle was surmounted by the Maroons without difficulty. Habituated to employ their naked feet with singular effect, in climbing up trees and precipices, they had acquired a dexterity in the practice, which to British troops was altogether astonishing and wholly inimitable. On the other hand, all the officers and privates, both of the regulars and militia, from a well-founded confidence in their chief commanders, seem to have felt a noble emulation which should most distinguish themselves for zeal in the cause, obedience to orders, and a cheerful alacrity in pushing forward on every service of difficulty and danger; sustaining without a murmur many extraordinary hardships; among which distress for want of water, and thirst even to extremity, were none of the least.

It was easily foreseen that a perseverance in the same line of conduct must ultimately prove successful; and intimations were at length received, by means of

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enslaved negroes whom the Maroons had forced into their service, and purposely dismissed, that they were extremely desirous of an accommodation, on any terms short of capital punishment, or transportation from the country. They expressed a willingness, it was said, to deliver up their arms, and all the fugitive slaves that had joined them, to surrender their lands, and intermix with the general body of free blacks, in such parts of the country as the colonial government should approve. Although these overtures were evidently dictated by deprecation and despair, it was the opinion of many wise and worthy men among the inhabitants, that they ought to be accepted; and it was said that General Walpole himself concurred in the same sentiment. It was urged that the war, if continued on the only principle by which it could be maintained, must be a war of extermination. Some few of the Maroons, however would probably elude the last pursuit of vengeance; and these would form a central point to which the runaway negroes would resort. Thus hostilities would be perpetuated for ever; and it was observed that a single Maroon, in the season of crop, with no other weapon than a firebrand, might destroy the cane-fields of opulent parishes, and consume in a few hours property of immense value. To these considerations, was to be added the vast expense of continuing the war. The country had already expended 500,000*l.*, exclusive of the loss which was sustained by individual proprietors consequent on the removal from their plantations of all the white servants, to attend military duty. In the meanwhile, cultivation was suspended, the courts of law had long been shut up; and the island at large seemed more like a garrison, under the power of the law-martial,

than a country of agriculture and commerce, of civil judicature, industry, and prosperity.

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On the other hand, it was loudly declared that a compromise with a lawless banditti, who had slaughtered so many excellent men, and had murdered in cold blood even women in childbed, and infants at the breast, was a shameful sacrifice of the public honour; a total disregard to the dictates of justice, an encouragement to the rest of the Maroons to commit similar outrages, and a dreadful example to the negroes in servitude; tending to impress on their minds an idea not of the lenity of the Whites, but of their inability to punish such atrocious offenders. It was alleged withal, that the rebel Maroons were not themselves seriously desirous of such an accommodation. Their only purpose was to gain time, and procure an opportunity to get into better quarters; judging perhaps that the militia of the country, a large proportion of whom were at the distance of one hundred miles from their place of residence, would soon be tired of the contest. Many facts were indeed related, and some strong circumstances adduced, which gave a colour to this charge; and proved that the Maroons had not altogether relinquished their hopes of creating a general revolt among the enslaved negroes. Such an event was not likely to happen, while the country continued in arms. The dismissal of the troops, on the fallacious idea of an accommodation with the Maroons, would alone, it was said, realize the danger.

Fortunately for all parties, this unnatural and destructive revolt was brought to a happy termination much sooner than might have been apprehended. On the 14th of December, the commissioner who went to the Havannah for assistance, arrived at Montego Bay

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with forty *chasseurs* or Spanish hunters (chiefly people of colour) and about one hundred Spanish dogs. Such extraordinary accounts were immediately spread of the terrific appearance, and savage nature of these animals, as made an impression on the minds of the negroes that was equally surprising and unexpected.*

Whether these reports were propagated through folly or design, they had certainly a powerful and very salutary effect on the fears of the rebel Maroons, a large party of whom now displayed strong and indubitable evidences of terror, humiliation, and submission, and renewed their solicitations for peace with great earnestness and anxiety. A negotiation was at length opened, and a treaty concluded on the 21st of December, of which the chief articles were, 1st. That the Maroons should, on their knees, ask the King's pardon; 2dly. That they should fix their future residence in such part of the island as the legislature should point out: And 3dly. That they should deliver up all the fugitive negro slaves that had joined them. On these conditions it was stipulated and agreed, that their lives should be granted them, and that they should not be transported from the island; and they were allowed ten days to collect their families and perform the treaty.

So great however was the terror of these wretched people, arising from the consciousness of their enor-

* Though these dogs are not in general larger than the shepherd's dogs in Great Britain, (which in truth they much resemble) they were represented as equal to the mastiff in bulk, to the bull-dog in courage, to the blood-hound in scent, and to the grey-hound in agility. If intire credit had been given to the description that was transmitted through the country of this extraordinary animal, it might have been supposed that the Spaniards had obtained the ancient and genuine breed of *Cerberus* himself, the many-headed monster that guarded the infernal regions.

mities, or their unaccountable infatuation, that only twenty-one of their number surrendered by the time limited; and thirteen others three days afterwards.

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On the 14th of January, therefore, orders were issued from the commander in chief to General Walpole, to march without further delay against the rebels. These orders were punctually obeyed; but, from regard to humanity, the Spanish dogs were ordered in the rear of the army. The effect, however, was immediate. General Walpole had advanced but a short way in the woods, when a supplication for mercy was brought him from the enemy, and 260 of them soon afterwards surrendered *on no other condition than a promise of their lives*. It is pleasing to observe, that not a drop of blood was spilt after the dogs arrived in the island.

Some of the young men, however, still held out, and it was not until the middle of March that the rebellion was entirely extinguished by the surrender of the whole body: *nor even then, or at any time before, were any of the fugitive negroes that had joined them delivered up*.

It might be supposed therefore, that no question could have arisen whether the treaty was observed or not, on the part of the Maroons. Nevertheless it did so happen, that doubts on this head were suggested on such respectable authority, as induced the commander in chief, with great prudence and propriety, to leave the whole matter to the investigation and determination of the Council and Assembly, who appointed a joint and secret committee to receive evidence and report on the facts before them.

On the report of this Committee the Assembly, by

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a majority of 21 to 13, came to the following resolutions, among others, viz.

“ That all the Maroons who surrendered after the first of January, not having complied with the terms of the treaty, are not entitled to the benefit thereof, and ought to be shipped off the island ; but that they ought to be sent to a country in which they will be free, and such as may be best calculated, by situation, to secure the island against the danger of their return ; that they ought to be provided with suitable clothing and necessaries for the voyage, and maintained at the public expense of this island for a reasonable time after their arrival at the place of their destination.

“ That it is the opinion of this House, that as there may be among the rebels a few who, by their repentance, services, and good behaviour, since their surrender, have merited protection and favour, it be recommended to the lieutenant-governor to permit such to remain in the island, together with their wives and children ; and to distinguish them by any other marks of favour he may think proper.”

Of the policy of ridding the country of such an enemy (admitting the justice of the war on the part of the Whites) there could have been, I should have thought, but one opinion. After such a war, carried on in such a manner, it is impossible to believe, that a cordial reconciliation between the white inhabitants and the Maroons could ever have taken place. The latter would probably have continued a sullen, subjugated people, employed only in seducing the enslaved negroes from their fidelity, and ready to revolt themselves whenever occasion should offer. “ No country on earth,” says Rutherford, “ would suffer a body of

men to live within its territories, unless they would agree to be accountable to its laws, as far as the general security requires." To expect such conduct from the Maroons, was to manifest a total ignorance of their disposition. The determination therefore of the legislature of the colony to transport these people from the island being thus fixed, it remains only to point out in what manner it was enforced.

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In the beginning of June, 1796, his Majesty's ship the *Dover*, with two transports in company, having on board the Trelawney Maroons (in number about six hundred) provided with all manner of necessaries, as well for their accommodation at sea, as for the change of climate, sailed from Blue-fields in Jamaica, for Halifax in North America. They were accompanied by William Dawes Quarrell, and Alexander Ouchterlony, Esquires, commissioners appointed by the Assembly, with authority and instructions (subject to his Majesty's approbation and further orders) to purchase lands in Nova Scotia, Lower Canada, or where else his Majesty should please to appoint, for the future establishment and subsistence of those Maroons, as a free people. The commissioners had orders withal, to provide them the means of a comfortable maintenance, until they were habituated to the country and climate. The sum of 25,000*l.* was allowed by the Assembly for those purposes. They arrived at Halifax in the month of July; and the following letter from Sir John Wentworth, Bart. the governor of the province, to a friend in London, dated the 10th of November, 1796, will convey to the reader the clearest and most satisfactory account of their reception in the province, and of the measures happily adopted for their future establishment and improvement. With this letter, which I

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have been permitted to copy from the original, I shall close my account.

“The Maroons are now comfortably settled, and their situation will be daily improving. They are hitherto quiet, orderly, and contented. I have long had experience useful for this occasion, and have not a doubt, that these will be an happy and useful people. In this country they can do no harm; nor do they seem disposed to do any. They are exceedingly attached to me. I have appointed a missionary and chaplain, with an assistant teacher, to perform the service of the church of England; to instruct them in Christianity, and to teach the youth and children to read, write, and cypher. Last Sunday I attended public worship in their chapel, at opening the church. The Maroons were particularly attentive, decent, and most exceedingly delighted. Next Sunday many are to be baptized, and the remainder in due course. They are solicitous for this duty, and appear desirous of instruction, from whence civilization will naturally result. The climate is and will be salutary to them. The children were emaciated, and most of the adults worn down by war, imprisonment, and sea-sickness: they are now healthy, strong, and as hearty as any white people in the province. They are therefore, and I have no doubt will continue to be, infinitely benefited by their removal to Nova Scotia; and the most judicious and sensible among them are perfectly satisfied, and happy in their future prospects.”

The following Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly, are added by way of Illustration.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

Friday, April 22, 1796.

RESOLVED, nem. con. That the Receiver-General do remit the sum of seven hundred guineas to the agent of the island, for the purpose of purchasing a sword, to be presented to the Right Hon. ALEXANDER Earl of BALCARRES, as a testimony of the grateful sense which the House entertain of his distinguished services, displayed both in the field and cabinet; and under whose auspices, by the blessing of Divine Providence, a happy and complete termination has been put to a most dangerous rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons, whereby the general value of property, as well as security of the island, have been highly augmented.

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Ordered, That a copy of the above resolution be sent to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

Resolved, nem. con. That Mr. Speaker be requested to present the thanks of the House to the Hon. Major-General WALPOLE, for the signal services performed by him to this island, in the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

Resolved, nem. con. That the Receiver-General do remit to the agent of this island, five hundred guineas, for the purpose of purchasing a sword, to be presented to the Hon. Major-General WALPOLE; as a testimony of the grateful sense which the House entertain of his important services and distinguished merit, in the

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suppression of the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That Mr. Speaker be requested to give the thanks of the House to the brave Officers and Privates of the regulars and militia, for their gallant services to the island, during the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons; and that the Commander-in-Chief, under whose auspices they fought, be requested by Mr. Speaker, to communicate the high sense which the House entertain of their distinguished merit.

Thursday, April 28.

A Motion being made, that a Committee be appointed to inquire and report to the House the names of such persons as have fallen in battle during the late rebellion, that a monument may be erected to perpetuate their memories, and the gratitude of this country for their eminent services;

Ordered, That Mr. Fitch, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Mathison, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Hodges, be a Committee for that purpose.

Saturday, April 30.

The Lieutenant-Governor's answer to the message from the House, with the resolution of the 22d inst.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

THE present you have made me, by your unanimous resolution of the 22d instant, is inestimable.

A soldier's honour, with emblem and emphasis, is

placed in his sword; and I shall transmit your precious gift to my posterity, as an everlasting mark of the reverence, the attachment, and the gratitude, I bear to the island of Jamaica.

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BALCARRES.

The following address was this day presented to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor :

WE, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to offer to your honour our most sincere and cordial congratulations on the happy and complete termination of the rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

This great and important event must be productive of substantial benefits and salutary consequences to the country, in every point of view in which it can be contemplated: tranquillity and the enjoyment of our civil rights are restored; public credit, so essential to the support of government, and to the prosperity, if not to the very existence of the country, is re-established, and our internal security greatly increased and confirmed.

From all these inestimable advantages, we look forward with confidence to the augmentation of the value of property, which is likely to take place; and which, in time, we trust, will compensate all the losses and expenditure of treasure unavoidably incurred in the prosecution of the war.

It is with peculiar satisfaction and gratitude we acknowledge the lively impression made on us by the

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energy displayed by your Lordship in difficult operations of war; which affords the most convincing proof, that the zeal, ardour, and activity manifested in your military conduct, have only been equalled by the sound policy, and decisive measures, which marked the wisdom of your counsels.

HIS HONOUR'S ANSWER.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

YOUR address excites in my bosom every sensation of pleasure, the mind of man is capable of receiving.

The picture you have drawn of the future prosperity of the Island is strong and impressive.

After contemplating the unavoidable calamities of war, a sentiment arises, grateful and soothing to a feeling heart—

That, during your contest with an enemy the most ferocious that ever disgraced the annals of history:

That, during your contest with an army of savages, who have indiscriminately massacred every prisoner whom the fortune of war had placed in their power—no barbarity, nor a single act of retaliation, has sullied the brightness of your arms.

I pray that the energy, the vigour, and the humanity, which you have so honourably displayed, may descend to your children: and secure to them for ever, those blessings which you have hitherto enjoyed, under the mild and happy government of the illustrious House of Hanover.

✪ It must not be omitted (though I mention it with great concern) that Major-General Walpole, being dissatisfied with the resolution of the Legislature to transport the Maroons from the country, declined the acceptance of the sword voted by the Assembly.

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END OF VOL. I.



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